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FIG. 1. GREEK WINE JAR. *Frontispiece*

A SOURCE BOOK OF GREEK HISTORY

BY

FRED MORROW FLING, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

"For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men." — *Thucydides*, II. 43 (Jowett).

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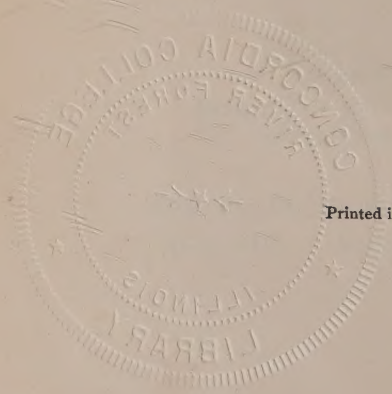

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PREFACE

During the past fifteen years the question of the use of sources in the teaching of history in secondary schools has occupied somewhat constantly the attention of history teachers and has given rise to a considerable controversial literature. The discussion has evidently passed through a first stage, and one thing, at least, seems to be settled: it is the opinion of the best trained teachers of history the country over that historical sources should be used in the secondary schools. That the publishers of text-books believe that there is a demand for this kind of material and that the demand is likely to increase is demonstrated by the number of source books issued in the last few years. Another proof of the change that has come over the teaching of history is found in the recent historical narratives intended for secondary schools and in revised editions of old texts. In all of these books, a prominent place is given to references to the sources.

If the question "Shall sources be used?" may be regarded as settled in the affirmative, the further question "How shall sources be used?" is still a matter of controversy. The common practice is to use them as collateral reading or as "illustrative material." In regard to the benefits derived from this use of source material, there is no difference of opinion. It is only when the possibility of doing something more than simply substitute sources for secondary narratives in the assignment of collateral reading, the possibility of doing something with sources that cannot be done with secondary narratives is pointed out, — it is only then that the trouble begins. Before speaking of this second use of the sources, I wish to state briefly what the con-

trolling motives were in the construction of the present source book.

It was my aim to make a collection of sources that would reflect the life and thought of the Greek people, and, to some degree, the evolution of that life and thought. The Greeks are distinguished for their work in literature, art, and philosophy. To arouse in the pupil some feeling for the beauty of Greek literature and Greek art, I have incorporated into the text extracts of somewhat unusual length, and have used a considerable number of full-page photographs. The first are intended to be read as literature and the last are to be looked at again and again until they have become a permanent part of the mental resources of the pupil. Many of the extracts should be read aloud, some might even be committed and recited. This side of the work should not be overdone. The teacher should lead the pupil gently on, should endeavor to place him in the right attitude so that he may fall under the spell of these great works. Without dwelling too long at one time upon this extract or that photograph, let him come back again and again, with gentle insistence, until at length the pupil begins to feel the old Greek masters speaking to him out of poem or speech, statue or temple. If this atmosphere can be created about the historical events, it will give them a reality such as we seem to find in the historical novel. The difference would be that here we would have a real historical atmosphere and not the creation of the brain of a modern novelist. If this work is properly done, it may not be difficult to induce the pupil to read a play of Sophocles, the whole of the *Iliad*, a book or two of Herodotus, the whole of Thucydides, several speeches of Demosthenes, some of the *Lives* of Plutarch, and even the *Apology* of Plato, in place of less valuable reading. An enthusiastic teacher, one who loves these things himself and is able to communicate his enthusiasm to his pupils, will accomplish something that is really worth while, even with young pupils.

By the majority of teachers, these sources will probably be used as "illustrative material" and to introduce the pupil to Greek literature and art. While I am very much in favor of these uses, I wish to make a strong plea in favor of a further use, to my mind one of the most important uses to which the sources can be put; I mean the critical study of them. So long as the pupil does not appreciate the relation of the source to the event, of the affirmation of a witness to the fact he affirms, of the process by which we reconstruct the past, reflected imperfectly and often incorrectly in the sources, so long as he accepts without question the results of the investigations of another, just so long must he be regarded as without insight into the real meaning of historical study. I do not advocate the substitution of source study for the study of secondary narratives, nor do I believe that all sources should be studied intensively; but I do believe that the critical study of the sources should be made the very foundation-stone of historical instruction. But what is meant by the "critical study of the sources"? Naturally, something rather simple for the first year of the high school, something fairly solid for the last year, if the pupil studies history during the four years. The teacher should have a good knowledge of what the historical method is; a knowledge derived both from practical experience in research work and from a good text on method. He must have this preparation, if he would do his work effectively; but he will not attempt to teach the method systematically in the class. What he can do, I have endeavored to show in the questions appended to the extracts. If he does what he can do intelligently and keeps doing it, the boy who has not gained some insight into the meaning of critical historical work before the year is out will be stupid indeed.

If the teacher does not feel equal to this sort of work, he may omit the questions upon evidence. If he would like to attempt it but does not feel quite sure of himself, let him choose the

easier problems, leaving the more difficult ones for the future. These questions upon evidence can sometimes be answered by a study of the source extract, sometimes it is necessary to make use of the information in the critical bibliography, and, finally, sometimes they cannot be answered at all, or can be answered only by way of conjecture. For instance, the question might be, "Where did Thucydides obtain his information about the Sicilian expedition?" Possibly the extract gives no information, and nothing is found in the bibliographical notice that seems to cast any light on the problem. It is clear that Thucydides was not in Sicily and could not have described the events as an eye-witness, as he did in the case of the plague. He must have learned of the events from others, either in the Peloponnesus, or in Athens after his return from banishment. The object of these questions is to impress the thought that this indirect information is less valuable than the statements of a good eye-witness, and that the less we know of the sources of information from which a writer drew, the less confidence we have in his statements.

Among the more difficult questions are those touching the relationship of the sources. I have given a few examples of this kind, quoting from three sources, at times, that the pupil may have a chance to see that they often draw from one another, and that it is only by the agreement of *independent* sources that the truth is determined. One of the main purposes of this critical work is to make the pupil comprehend the uncertainty and unreliability of much of our information upon Greek history, and that this is due to the character of the evidence with which we are obliged to work. A further purpose is to bring out the idea that in history the only "authority" is the source, and that the writer of a historical narrative cannot take refuge behind the dogma of infallibility, but must prove all that he asserts by the citation of evidence.

The intensive and critical work, if it is to be profitable, must

be exact. If certain questions are assigned the class for a certain day, the answers should be carefully written out and the proof cited before the recitation. The classroom work should not consist simply in reading the answers, but in testing the answers by a comparison with the evidence — the source books should always be open on the desks — and in bringing out the points that have been overlooked. After a topic has been worked over, an outline may be made and then, without any assistance, the pupil should be able to give an oral account of the period.

The source work may be carried on in connection with the narrative text, or special days may be set aside for it. A satisfactory way is to assign questions calling for the use of a variety of material, sources, maps, pictures, and narratives, and to indicate exactly what this material is and where it is to be found. In his answer, the pupil should state what material has been studied. The narrative should be used to supplement the sources, when both deal with the same topic.

A book like this, if properly used, should give the teacher of history an inspiration and an uplift similar to that drawn by the teacher of science from work in the laboratory. He is learning himself, and he is trying to teach his pupils how to attain to historical truth. If an important part of education is to learn how results are obtained and not simply to know what the results are, then historical method should have a place in the teaching of history. Such work is certain to make better and more enthusiastic teachers by pointing the way to the mastery of the subject and by laying the foundations of independent judgment.

In the compilation of this volume, I am under great obligations to my wife, Helene Dresser Fling, who undertook the entire burden of preparing the extracts for the press and of making the index.

FRED MORROW FLING.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.

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SOURCE BOOK

OF

GREEK HISTORY

I. PRIMITIVE GREEK SOCIETY

A. Greek Life as shown in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*

a. Family Life

Iliad, p. 381

1. Also he fashioned therein two fair cities of mortal men. In the one were espousals and marriage feasts and beneath the blaze of torches they were leading the brides from their chambers through the city, and loud arose the bridal song. And young men were whirling in the dance, and among them flutes and viols sounded high; and the women, standing each at her door, were marvelling.

Odyssey, p. 36

2. Now the renowned minstrel was singing to the wooers and they sat listening in silence; and his song was the pitiful return of the Achæans. . . . And from her upper chamber the daughter of Icarius, wise Penelope, caught the glorious strain, and she went down the high stairs from her chamber. . . . Then she fell a weeping, and spake unto the divine minstrel: ". . . Cease from this pitiful strain, that ever wastes my heart within my breast."

. . . Then wise Telemachus answered her, and said: "O my mother, why then dost thou grudge the sweet minstrel to gladden us as his spirit moves him? . . . Howbeit go to thy chamber and mind thine own housewiferies, the loom and distaff, and bid thy handmaids ply their tasks. But speech shall be for men, for all, but for me in chief; for mine is the lordship in the house."

Odyssey, p. 34

3. "As for the wooers, bid them scatter each one to his own, and for thy mother, if her heart is moved to marriage, let her go back to the hall of that mighty man her father, and her kinsfolk will furnish a wedding feast, and array the gifts of wooing exceeding many, all that should go back with a daughter dearly beloved."

Odyssey, p. 44

4. Then wise Telemachus answered him, saying: "Antinous, I may in nowise thrust forth from the house, against her will, the woman that bare me, that reared me: while as for my father, he is abroad on the earth, whether he be alive or dead. Moreover it is hard for me to make heavy restitution to Icarius, as needs I must, if of mine own will I send my mother away. For I shall have evil at his hand, at the hand of her father, and some god will give me more besides, for my mother will call down the dire Avengers as she departs from the house, and I shall have blame of men; surely then I will never speak this word."

Odyssey, pp. 133, 134

5. And he had fifty handmaids in the house, and some grind the yellow grain on the millstone, and others weave webs and turn the yarn as they sit, restless as the leaves of the tall poplar tree; and the soft olive oil drops off that linen so closely is it woven. For as the Phæacian men are skilled beyond all others in driving a swift ship upon the deep, even so are the women the most cunning at the loom, for Athene hath given them notable wisdom in all fair

handiwork and cunning wit. And without the courtyard hard by the door is a great garden, of four ploughgates, and a hedge runs round on either side. And there grow tall trees blossoming, pear trees, and pomegranates, and apple trees with bright fruit, and sweet figs, and olives in their bloom. The fruit of these trees never perisheth, neither faileth, winter or summer, enduring through all the year. Evermore the west wind blowing brings some fruit to birth and ripens others. Pear upon pear waxes old, and apple on apple, yea and cluster ripens upon cluster of the grape, and fig upon fig. There too hath he a fruitful vineyard planted, whereof the one part is being dried by the heat, a sunny spot on level ground, while other grapes men are gathering, and yet others they are treading in the wine-press. In the foremost row are unripe grapes that cast the blossoms, and others there be that are growing black to vintaging. There, too, skirting the farthest line, are all manner of garden beds, planted trimly, that are perpetually fresh, and therein are two fountains of water, whereof one scatters its streams all about the garden, and the other runs over against it beneath the threshold of the courtyard, and issues by the lofty house, and thence did the townsfolk draw water.

Odyssey, pp. 29, 30

6. And when they were now within the lofty house, he set her spear that he bore against a tall pillar, within the polished spear-stand, where stood many spears besides, even those of Odysseus of the hardy heart; and he led the goddess and seated her on a goodly carven chair, and spread a linen cloth thereunder, and beneath was a footstool for her feet.

Then a handmaid bare water for the washing of hands in a goodly golden ewer, and poured it forth over a silver basin to wash withal, and drew to their side a polished table. And a grave dame bare wheaten bread and set it by them, and laid on the board many dainties, giving freely of such things as she had by her. And a

carver lifted and placed by them platters of divers kinds of flesh, and nigh them he set golden bowls, and a henchman walked to and fro pouring out to them the wine.

Odyssey, p. 51

7. But he stepped down into the vaulted treasure-chamber of his father, a spacious room, where gold and bronze lay piled, and raiment in coffers, and fragrant olive oil in plenty. And there stood casks of sweet wine and old, full of the unmixed drink divine, all orderly ranged by the wall. . . . And the close-fitted doors, the folding doors were shut, and night and day there abode within a dame in charge, who guarded all in the fulness of her wisdom.

Odyssey, p. 39

8. But Telemachus, where his chamber was builded high up in the fair court in a place with wide prospect, thither betook him to his bed, pondering many thoughts in his mind; and with him went trusty Eurycleia, and bare for him torches burning. She was the daughter of Ops, son of Peisenor, and Laertes bought her on a time with his wealth, while as yet she was in her first youth, and gave for her the worth of twenty oxen. . . . She went with Telemachus and bare for him the burning torches: and of all the women of the household she loved him the most, and she had nursed him when a little one. Then he opened the doors of the well-builded chamber and sat him on the bed and took off his soft doublet, and put it in the wise old woman's hands. So she folded the doublet and smoothed it, and hung it on a pin by the jointed bedstead, and went forth on her way from the room, and pulled to the door with the silver handle, and drew home the bar with the thong. There, all night through, wrapt in a piece of wool, he meditated in his heart upon the journey that Athene had showed him.

Odyssey, p. 50

9. He went on his way toward the house, heavy at heart, and he found the noble wooers in the halls flaying goats and singeing swine in the court.

Odyssey, pp. 120, 121

10. Therewith he called to his men, and they gave ear, and without the palace they made ready the smooth-running mule-wain, and led the mules beneath the yoke, and harnessed them under the car, while the maiden brought forth from her bower the shining raiment; this she stored in the polished car, and her mother filled a basket with all manner of food to the heart's desire, dainties too she set therein, and she poured wine into a goat-skin bottle, while Nausicaa climbed into the wain. And her mother gave her soft olive oil also in a golden cruse, that she and her maidens might anoint themselves after the bath. Then Nausicaa took the whip and the shining reins, and touched the mules to start them; then there was a clatter of hoofs, and on they strained without flagging, with their load of the raiment and the maiden. Not alone did she go, for her attendants followed with her.

Now when they were come to the beautiful stream of the river, where truly the unfailing cisterns, and bright water welled up free from beneath and flowed past, enough to wash the foulest garments clean, there the girls unharnessed the mules from under the chariot, and turning them loose they drove them along the banks of the eddying river to graze on the honey-sweet clover. Then they took the garments from the wain, in their hands, and bore them to the black water, and briskly trod them down in the trenches, in busy rivalry. Now when they had washed and cleansed all the stains, they spread all out in order along the shore of the deep, even where the sea, in beating on the coast, washed the pebbles clean. Then having bathed and anointed them well with olive oil, they took their mid-day meal on the river's banks,

waiting until the clothes should dry in the brightness of the sun. Anon, when they were satisfied with food, the maidens and the princess, they fell to playing at ball, casting away their tires, and among them Nausicaa of the white arms began the song.

Iliad, pp. 124, 126

11. Then great Hector of the glancing helm answered her: "Surely I take thought for all these things, my wife; but I have very sore shame of the Trojans and Trojan dames with trailing robes, if like a coward I shrink away from battle. Moreover mine own soul forbiddeth me, seeing I have learned ever to be valiant and fight in the forefront of the Trojans, winning my father's great glory and mine own.

"Yea of a surety I know this in heart and soul; the day shall come for holy Ilios to be laid low and Priam and the folk of Priam of the good ashen spear. Yet doth the anguish of the Trojans hereafter not so much trouble me, neither Hekabe's own, neither King Priam's, neither my brethren's, the many and brave that shall fall in the dust before their foemen, as doth thy anguish in the day when some mailclad Achaian shall lead thee weeping and rob thee of the light of freedom. So shalt thou abide in Argos and ply the loom at another woman's bidding, and bear water from fount Messeis or Hypereia, being grievously entreated, and sore constraint shall be laid upon thee. And then shall one say that beholdeth thee weep: 'This is the wife of Hector, that was foremost in battle of the horse-taming Trojans when men fought about Ilios.' Thus shall one say hereafter, and fresh grief shall be thine for lack of such an husband as thou hadst to ward off the day of thraldom. But me in death may the heaped-up earth be covering, ere I hear thy crying and thy carrying into captivity."

So spake glorious Hector, and stretched out his arm to his boy. But the child shrunk crying to the bosom of his fair-girdled nurse, dismayed at his dear father's aspect, and in dread at the bronze

and horse-hair crest that he beheld nodding fiercely from the helmet's top. Then his dear father laughed aloud, and his lady mother; forthwith glorious Hector took the helmet from his head, and laid it, all gleaming, upon the earth; then kissed he his dear son and dandled him in his arms, and spake in prayer to Zeus and all the gods: "O Zeus and all ye gods, vouchsafe ye that this my son may likewise prove even as I, preëminent amid the Trojans, and as valiant in might, and be a great king of Ilios. Then may men say of him, 'Far greater is he than his father,' as he returneth home from battle; and may he bring with him blood-stained spoils from the foeman that he has slain, and may his mother's heart be glad."

So spake he, and laid his son in his dear wife's arms; and she took him to her fragrant bosom, smiling tearfully. And her husband had pity to see her, and caressed her with his hand, and spake and called upon her name: "Dear one, I pray thee be not of oversorrowful heart; no man against my fate shall hurl me to Hades; only destiny, I ween, no man hath escaped, be he coward or be he valiant, when once he hath been born. But go thou to thine house and see to thine own tasks, the loom and distaff, and bid thy handmaidens ply their work; but for war shall men provide, and I in chief of all men that dwell in Ilios."

So spake glorious Hector, and took up his horse-hair crested helmet; and his dear wife departed to her home, oft looking back, and letting fall big tears.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the marriage customs and ceremonies of this period. 2. What was the legal position of the wife in the household? 3. Describe a house and grounds. 4. Make a complete enumeration of the household furniture and utensils. 5. What was the work of the household? 6. Who did it? 7. What did the people eat and drink, and what did they wear? 8. Where did they obtain their food and cloth-

ing? 9. How did they prepare it and how serve it? 10. How were the houses lighted and heated? 11. What were the occupations and amusements of this period? 12. Were these peoples highly civilized? 13. How did this life differ from that of our time? 14. Read aloud the parting of Hector from Andromache, one of the most beautiful passages in the *Iliad*.

b. Occupations and Classes

Iliad, pp. 382, 383

1. Furthermore he set in the shield a fresh-ploughed field, rich tilth and wide, the third time ploughed; and many ploughers therein drave their yokes to and fro as they wheeled about. Whensoever they came to the boundary of the field and turned, then would a man come to each and give into his hands a goblet of sweet wine, while others would be turning back along the furrows, fain to reach the boundary of the deep tilth. And the field grew black behind and seemed as it were a-ploughing, albeit of gold, for this was the great marvel of the work.

Furthermore he set therein a demesne-land deep in corn, where hinds were reaping with sharp sickles in their hands. Some armfuls along the swath were falling in rows to the earth, while others the sheaf-binders were binding in twisted bands of straw. Three sheaf-binders stood over them, while behind boys gathering corn and bearing it in their arms gave it constantly to the binders; and among them the lord in silence was standing at the swath with his staff, rejoicing in his heart. And henchmen apart beneath an oak were making ready a feast, and preparing a great ox they had sacrificed; while the women were strewing much white barley to be a supper for the hinds.

Odyssey, pp. 253–255

2. But Odysseus fared forth from the haven by the rough track, up the wooded country and through the heights, where Athene had showed him that he should find the goodly swineherd,

who cared most for his substance of all the thralls that goodly Odysseus had gotten.

Now he found him sitting at the front entry of the house, where his courtyard was builded high, in a place with wide prospect; a great court it was and a fair, with free range round it. This the swineherd had builded by himself for the swine of his lord who was afar, and his mistress and the old man Laertes knew not of it. With stones dragged thither had he builded it, and coped it with a fence of white thorn, and he had split an oak to the dark core, and without he had driven stakes the whole length thereof on either side, set thick and close; and within the courtyard he made twelve styes hard by one another, to be beds for the swine, and in each stye fifty grovelling swine were penned. . . . And their tale was three hundred and three score. And by them always slept four dogs, as fierce as wild beasts, which the swineherd had bred, a master of men. Now he was fitting sandals to his feet, cutting a brown oxhide, while the rest of his fellows, three in all, were abroad this way and that, with the droves of swine. Therewith the goodly swineherd led him to the steading, and took him in and set him down, and strewed beneath him thick brushwood, and spread thereon the hide of a shaggy wild goat, wide and soft, which served him for a mattress. . . .

"For surely the gods have stayed the returning of my master, who would have loved me diligently, and given me somewhat of my own, a house and a parcel of ground, and a comely wife, such as a kind lord gives to his man, who hath labored much for him and the work of whose hands God hath likewise increased, even as he increaseth this work of mine whereat I abide. Therefore would my lord have rewarded me greatly had he grown old at home."

Odyssey, p. 431

3. Now when those others had gone down from the city, quickly they came to the rich and well-ordered farm land of Laertes, that

he had won for himself of old, as the prize of great toil in war. There was his house, and all about it ran the huts wherein the thralls were wont to eat and dwell and sleep, bondsmen that worked his will.

Iliad, p. 377

4. Him found she sweating in toil and busy about his bellows, for he was forging tripods twenty in all to stand around the wall of his stablished hall.

Iliad, pp. 378, 379

5. He said, and from the anvil rose limping. . . . The bellows he set away from the fire, and gathered all the gear wherewith he worked in a silver chest; and with a sponge he wiped his face and hands and sturdy neck and shaggy breast, and did on his doublet, and took a stout staff and went forth limping.

Iliad, p. 380

6. Thus saying he left her there and went unto his bellows and turned them upon the fire and bade them work. And the bellows, twenty in all, blew on the crucibles, sending deft blasts on every side. . . . And he threw bronze that weareth not into the fire, and tin and precious gold and silver, and next he set on an anvil-stand a great anvil, and took in his hand a sturdy hammer, and in the other he took the tongs.

Iliad, p. 228

7. "But me do thou succour, and lead me to the black ship, and cut the arrow out of my thigh, and smear soft healing drugs thereover, these good herbs whereof they say that thou hast learned from Achilles, whom Cheiron taught, the most righteous of the Centaurs. For of the leeches, Podaleirios and Machaon, one methinks, is wounded in the huts, and himself hath need of a good leech, and the other on the plain abideth the keen battle of the Trojans."

Odyssey, p. 57

8. "Now is the better time to inquire and ask of the strangers who they are, now that they have had their delight of food. Strangers, who are ye? Whence sail ye over the wet ways? On some trading enterprise, or at adventure do ye rove, even as sea-robbers, over the brine, for they wander at hazard of their own lives bringing bale to alien men?"

Odyssey, p. 147

9. "No, truly, stranger, nor do I think thee at all like one that is skilled in games, whereof there are many among men; rather art thou such an one as comes and goes in a benched ship, a master of sailors that are merchantmen, one with a memory for his freight, or that hath the charge of a cargo homeward bound, and of greedily gotten gains; thou seemest not a man of thy hands."

Odyssey, pp. 108, 109

10. She gave him a great axe, fitted to his grasp, an axe of bronze, double-edged, and with a goodly handle of olive wood, fastened well. Next she gave him a polished adze, and she led the way to the border of the isle where tall trees grew, alder and poplar, and pine that reacheth unto heaven, seasoned long since and sere, that might lightly float for him. Now after she had shown him where the tall trees grew, Calypso, the fair goddess, departed homeward. And he set to cutting timber, and his work went busily. Twenty trees in all he felled, and then trimmed them with the axe of bronze, and deftly smoothed them, and over them made straight the line. Meanwhile Calypso, the fair goddess, brought him augers, so he bored each piece and joined them together, and then made all fast with trenails and dowels. Wide as is the floor of a broad ship of burden, which some man well skilled in carpentry may trace him out, of such beam did Odysseus fashion his broad raft. And thereat he wrought, and set up the

deckings, fitting them to the close-set uprights, and finished them off with long gunwales, and therein he set a mast, and a yard-arm fitted thereto, and moreover he made him a rudder to guide the craft. And he fenced it with wattled osier withes from stem to stern, to be a bulwark against the wave, and piled wood to back them. Meanwhile Calypso, the fair goddess, brought him web of cloth to make him sails; and these too he fashioned skilfully. And he made fast therein braces and halyards and sheets, and at last he pushed the raft with levers down to the fair salt sea.

Odyssey, p. 54

11. Then Telemachus called unto his company and bade them lay hands on the tackling, and they harkened to his call. So they raised the mast of pine tree and set it in the hole of the cross plank, and made it fast with forestays, and hauled up the white sails with twisted ropes of oxhide. And the wind filled the belly of the sail, and the dark wave seethed loudly round the stern of the running ship, and she fleeted over the wave, accomplishing her path. Then they made all fast in the swift black ship, and set mixing bowls brimmed with wine, and poured drink offering to the deathless gods.

Iliad, p. 3

12. And there stood up before them Kalchas, son of Thestor, most excellent far of augurs, who knew both things that were and that should be and that had been before, and guided the ships of the Achæans to Ilios by his soothsaying that Phœbus Apollo bestowed on him.

Odyssey, p. 144

13. Then the henchman drew near, leading with him the beloved minstrel, whom the muse loved dearly, and she gave him both good and evil; of his sight she reft him but granted him sweet song. Then Pontonous, the henchman, set for him a high chair inlaid with silver, in the midst of the guests, leaning it against the

tall pillar, and hung the loud lyre on a pin, close above his head, and showed him how to lay his hands on it. . . . But after they had put from them the desire of meat and drink, the muse stirred the minstrel to sing the songs of famous men, even that lay whereof the fame had then reached the wide heaven, namely, the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, son of Peleus.

QUESTIONS

1. How many social classes are mentioned in the above extracts? 2. What relations existed among them? 3. Enumerate the occupations of this period. 4. Make a list of the implements used in each occupation. 5. Describe the methods employed in the different callings. 6. How many of these occupations have disappeared? 7. How many still exist, but differ in methods and implements? 8. How many still exist unchanged? 9. How many of these occupations could really be called trades, practiced by men with special training? 10. How many special occupations — trades or professions — are there in our own society? 11. Which society is the more complex and why?

c. Government

Iliad, pp. 22–24

1. Now went the goddess, Dawn, to high Olympus, foretelling daylight to Zeus and all the immortals; and the king bade the clear-voiced heralds summon to the assembly the flowing-haired Achaians. So did those summon, and these gathered with speed.

But first the council of the great-hearted elders met beside the ship of King Nestor, the Pylos-born. And he that had assembled them framed his cunning council: "So come, let us now call to arms as we may the sons of the Achaians. But first I will speak to make trial of them as is fitting, and will bid them flee with their benched ships; only do ye from this side and from that seek to hold them back."

So spake he and sat him down; and there stood up among them Nestor, who was king of sandy Pylos. He of good intent made harangue to them. . . . So spake he and led the way forth from the council, and all the other sceptred chiefs rose with him and obeyed the shepherd of the host; and the people hastened to them. . . . From ships and huts, before the low beach, marched forth their many tribes and companies to the place of assembly. . . . And the place of assembly was in an uproar, and the earth echoed again as the hosts sat them down, and there was turmoil. Nine heralds restrained them with shouting, if perchance they might refrain from clamor and harken to their kings. And hardly at the last would the people sit and keep them to their benches and cease from noise. Then stood up Lord Agamemnon, bearing his sceptre. . . . Thereon he leaned and spake his saying to the Argives.

Iliad, p. 27

2. So said she, and he knew the voice of the goddess speaking to him and set him to run, and cast away his mantle, the which his herald gathered up . . . that waited on him. And himself he went to meet Agamemnon, son of Atreus, and at his hand received the sceptre of his sires, imperishable forever, wherewith he took his way amid the ships of the mail-clad Achaians.

Whenever he found one that was a captain and a man of mark, he stood by his side, and refrained him with gentle words: "Good sir, it is not seemly to affright thee like a coward, but do thou sit thyself, and make all thy folks sit down. For thou knowest not yet clearly what is the purpose of Atreus' son. . . . And heard we not all of us what he spake in the council? Beware lest in his anger he evilly entreat the sons of the Achaians." . . . But whatever man of the people he saw and found him shouting, him he drave with his sceptre and chode with loud words: "Good sir, sit still, and hearken to the words of others that are thy betters; but thou art no warrior and a weakling, never reckoned whether

in battle or in council. In no wise can we Achaians all be kings here. A multitude of masters is no good thing; let there be one master, one king, to whom the son of crooked counselling Kronos had granted it, even the sceptre and the judgments that he may rule among you."

Iliad, pp. 28, 29

3. Now all the rest sat down and kept their place upon the benches. Only Thersites still chattered on, the uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words, many and disorderly, wherewith to strive against the chiefs idly and in no good order, but even as he deemed that he should make the Argives laugh. And he was ill-favored beyond all men that came to Ilios. Bandy-legged was he and lame of one foot, and his two shoulders rounded, arched down upon his chest; and over them his head was warped and a scanty stubble sprouted on it. Hateful was he to Achilles above all and to Odysseus, for them he was wont to revile. But now with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings upon goodly Agamemnon. . . . So spake Thersites, reviling Agamemnon, shepherd of the host, but goodly Odysseus came straight to his side, and looking sternly at him with hard words rebuked him: "Thersites, reckless in words, shrill orator though thou art, refrain thyself, nor aim to strive singly against kings. . . . But I will tell thee plain, and that I say shall even be brought to pass; if I find thee again raving as now thou art, then may Odysseus' head no longer abide upon his shoulders, . . . if I take thee not and strip from thee thy garments, thy mantle and tunic that cover thy nakedness, and for thyself send thee weeping to the fleet ships, and beat thee out of the assembly with shameful blows."

So spake he, and with his staff smote his back and shoulders: and he bowed down and a big tear fell from him, and a bloody weal stood up from his back beneath the golden sceptre.

Then he sat down and was amazed, and in pain with helpless look wiped away the tear. But the rest, though they were sorry,

laughed lightly at him, and thus would one speak, looking at another standing by: "Go to, of a truth Odysseus hath wrought good deeds without number ere now . . . but now is this thing the best by far. . . . Never again, forsooth, will his proud soul henceforth bid him revile the kings with slanderous words." So said the common sort.

Iliad, p. 381

4. But the folk were gathered in the assembly place; for there was strife arisen, two men striving about the blood price of a man slain; the one avowing that he had paid all, expounding to the people, but the other denied that he had received aught; and each was fain to obtain consummation on the word of his witness. And the folk were cheering both, as they took part on either side. And heralds kept order among the folk, while the elders on polished stones were sitting in the sacred circle, and holding in their hands staves from the loud-voiced heralds. Then before the people they rose up and gave judgment each in turn. And in the midst lay two talents of gold, to be given unto him who should plead among them most righteously.

QUESTIONS

1. Name the parts of this government and describe the rôle of each part. 2. Enumerate the officials and state their duties. 3. Were there any insignia of office? 4. From what source was the right to rule derived? 5. Quote a sentence that contains the theory of government. 6. What do we call such a government? 7. Was free speech allowed? 8. What part in the government had the mass of the people? 9. How do you explain such a situation? 10. Does the government of our country differ in form or spirit or both from this government? 11. What was the "blood price"? 12. Does any such thing exist in our country? 13. Make an analysis of this trial scene, naming the persons taking part in it and stating what each did. 14. Show the difference between the scene here described and a modern murder trial.

d. Warfare

Iliad, pp. 202, 203

1. And the son of Atreus cried aloud and bade the Argives arm them, and himself amid them did on the flashing bronze. First he fastened fair greaves about his legs, fitted with ankle clasps of silver, next, again, he did his breastplate about his breast. . . . And round his shoulders he cast his sword wherein shone studs of gold, but the scabbard about it was silver fitted with golden chains. And he took the richly dight shield of his valor that covereth all the body of a man, a fair shield, and round about it were ten circles of bronze and thereon were twenty white bosses of tin and one in the midst of black Cyanus, . . . and on his head Agamemnon set a sturdy helm with a fourfold crest and a plume of horsehair, and terribly the crest nodded from above. And he grasped two strong spears shod with bronze and keen. . . .

Then each man gave in charge his horses to his charioteer to hold them in by the fosse, well and orderly, and themselves as heavy men at arms were hasting about being harnessed in their gear. . . .

Iliad, p. 206

2. He spake and dashed Peisandros from his chariot to the earth, smiting him with his spear upon the breast, and he lay supine upon the ground. But Hippolochos rushed away, and him too he smote to earth and cut off his hands and his neck with the sword, then tossed him like a ball of stone to roll through the throng. Then left he them, and where thickest clashed the battalions, there he set on and with him all the well-greaved Achaians. Footmen kept slaying footmen as they were driven in flight, and horsemen slaying horsemen with the sword, and from beneath them rose up the dust from the plain stirred by the thundering hoofs of horses. And the Lord Agamemnon, ever slaying, followed after, calling on the Argives.

Iliad, p. 205

3. But Agamemnon, son of Atreus of the wide domain, smote Isos on the breast . . . with his spear, but Antiphos he struck hard by the ear with the sword and dashed him from the chariot. Then made he haste and stripped from them their goodly harness.

Iliad, p. 219

4. So spake he and smote the fair-maned horses with the shrill-sounding whip, and they felt the lash and fleetly bore the swift chariot among the Trojans and the Achaians, turning on the dead and the shields, and with blood besprinkled all the axle tree beneath and the rims round the car with the drops from the hoofs of the horses and with drops from the tires about the wheels.

Odyssey, p. 34

5. For even thither had Odysseus gone on his swift ship to seek a deadly drug, that he might have wherewithal to smear his bronze-shod arrows.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the defensive armor of a soldier of this period? 2. What offensive weapons did he use? 3. What two classes of warriors do you find mentioned? 4. Did they stand equal chances in battle? 5. What qualities were needed to give a man the victory in a battle such as that described above? 6. What practices of that time would be considered barbarous in modern warfare? 7. What would be the duties of a general in the period that we are studying? 8. Name some of the ways in which a great modern battle — Mukden, for example — would differ from the battle described above.

e. Religion

Iliad, pp. 16–19

1. Now when the twelfth morn thereafter was come, then the gods that are forever fared to Olympus all in company, led of Zeus. And Thetis forgat not her son's charge, but rose up from the sea

wave, and at early morn mounted up to great heaven and Olympus. There found she Kronos's son of the far-sounding voice sitting apart from all on the topmost peak of many-ridged Olympus. So she sat before his face and with her left hand clasped his knees, and with her right touched him beneath his chin, and spake in prayer to King Zeus, son of Kronos. . . . So spake she: but Zeus, the cloud-gatherer, said no word to her, and sat long time in silence. But even as Thetis had clasped his knees, so held she by him clinging, and questioned him yet a second time: "Promise me now this thing verily and bow thy head thereto; or else deny me, seeing there is naught for thee to fear; that I may know full well how I, among all gods, am least in honor."

Then Zeus, the cloud-gatherer, sore troubled, spake to her: "Verily it is a sorry matter, if thou wilt set me at variance with Hera, whene'er she provoketh me with taunting words. . . . But do thou now depart again, lest Hera mark aught; and I will take thought for these things to fulfil them. Come now, I will bow my head to thee that thou mayest be of good courage; for that of my part is the surest token amid the immortals; no word of mine is revocable nor false nor unfulfilled when the bowing of my head hath pledged it."

Kronion spake and nodded his dark brow, and the ambrosial locks waved from the king's immortal head; and he made great Olympus quake.

Thus the twain took counsel and parted; she leaped therewith into the deep sea from glittering Olympus, and Zeus fared to his own palace. All the gods in company arose from their seats before their father's face; neither ventured any to await his coming, but they stood up all before him. So he sat him there upon his throne; but Hera saw and was not ignorant how the daughter of the ancient of the sea, Thetis, the silver-footed, had devised counsel with him.

Anon with taunting words spake she to Zeus, the son of Kronos:

"Now who among the gods, thou crafty of mind, hath devised counsel with thee? It is ever thy good pleasure to hold aloof from me and in secret meditation to give thy judgments, nor of thine own good will hast thou ever brought thyself to declare unto me the thing thou purposest." . . .

To her made answer Zeus, the cloud-gatherer: "Lady, ever art thou imagining, nor can I escape thee; yet shalt thou in no wise have power to fulfil, but wilt be the further from my heart. . . . Abide thou in silence and harken to my bidding, lest all the gods that are in Olympus keep not off from thee my visitation, when I put forth my hands unapproachable against thee."

He said, and Hera, the ox-eyed queen, was afraid and sat in silence, curbing her heart; but throughout Zeus' palace the gods of heaven were troubled.

Iliad, p. 21

2. Now all other gods and chariot-driving men slept all night long, only Zeus was not holden of sweet sleep; rather was he pondering in his mind how he should do honor to Achilles and destroy many beside the Achaians' ships.

And this design seemed to his mind the best, to wit, to send a baneful dream upon Agamemnon, son of Atreus. So he spake and uttered to him winged words: "Come now, thou baneful Dream, go to the Achaians' fleet ships, enter into the hut of Agamemnon, son of Atreus, and tell him every word plainly as I charge thee. Bid him call to arms the flowing-haired Achaians with all speed, for that now he may take the wide-wayed city of the Trojans."

Iliad, pp. 33, 34

3. And they did sacrifice each man to one of the everlasting gods, praying for escape from death and the tumult of battle. But Agamemnon, king of men, slew a fat bull of five years to most mighty Kronion, and called the elders, the princes of the Achaian host. . . . Then stood they around the bull and took the barley meal, and

Agamemnon made his prayer in their midst and said: "Zeus most glorious, most great god of the storm cloud, that dwellest in the heavens, vouchsafe that the sun set not upon us, nor the darkness come near until I have laid low upon the earth Priam's palace smirched with smoke and burnt the doorways thereof with consuming fire, and rent on Hector's breast his doublet, cleft with the blade; and about him may full many of his comrades, prone in the dust, bite the earth." . . .

Iliad, p. 34

4. Now when they had prayed and scattered the barley meal, they first drew back the bull's head and cut his throat and flayed him, and cut slices from the thighs and wrapped them in fat, making a double fold, and laid raw collops thereon. And these they burnt on cleft wood stripped of leaves, and spitted the vitals and held them over Hephaistos' flame. Now when the thighs were burnt and they had tasted the vitals, then sliced they all the rest and pierced it through with spits and roasted it carefully and drew all off again. So when they had rest from the task and had made ready the banquet, they feasted, nor was their heart aught stinted of the fair banquet.

Odyssey, p. 204

5. "Leave me not unwept and unburied as thou goest hence, nor turn thy back upon me, lest haply I bring on thee the anger of the gods. Nay, burn me there with mine armor, all that is mine, and pile me a barrow on the shore of the gray sea, the grave of a luckless man, that even men unborn may hear my story. Fulfill me this and plant upon the barrow mine oar, wherewith I rowed in the days of my life, while yet I was among my fellows."

Odyssey, p. 90

6. "But thou, Menelaus, son of Zeus, art not ordained to die and meet thy fate in Argos, the pasture-land of horses, but the death-

less gods will convey thee to the Elysian plain and the world's end, where is Rhadamanthus of the fair hair, where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men."

Odyssey, p. 217

7. "How durst thou come down to the house of Hades, where dwell the senseless dead, the phantoms of men outworn?" . . .

"Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, O great Odysseus. Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed."

Odyssey, pp. 208, 209

8. So spake she, and I mused in my heart, and would fain have embraced the spirit of my mother dead. Thrice I sprang toward her, and was minded to embrace her; thrice she flitted from my hands as a shadow or even as a dream, and grief waxed ever the sharper at my heart. And uttering my voice I spake to her winged words . . .: "Is this but a phantom that the goddess Persephone hath sent me, to the end that I may groan for more exceeding sorrow?"

"So spake I, and my lady mother answered me anon . . .: 'But even on this wise it is with mortals when they die. For the sinews no longer bind together the flesh and the bones, but the great force of burning fire abolishes these, so soon as the life hath left the white bones, and the spirit like a dream flies forth and hovers near.'"

QUESTIONS

1. Did the Greeks believe in many gods or in one? 2. Name those mentioned in these extracts, and, if you can, tell what their positions were in the world of divinities. 3. What was the social and political organization of heaven? 4. Were the gods happy? 5. Where did the gods

FIG. 2. GROUP FROM A FUNERAL MONUMENT

live? 6. In what ways were they like to mortals? 7. In what unlike? 8. What methods did Thetis use to influence Zeus? 9. Why did he not grant her request at once? 10. Did Zeus always keep his promises? 11. What was the feeling of the other gods toward Zeus? 12. Point out the ungodlike features of the scene between Zeus and Hera. 13. How do you think these old Greeks formed such ideas of the gods?

14. How did the gods communicate with mortals? 15. Why did they wish to communicate with them? 16. How did mortals communicate with the gods, and why? 17. What was there peculiar about the methods of worship employed by the Greeks? 18. In what ways did they resemble our own? 19. Did their ideas about the gods influence their methods of worship? 20. What do you think of Agamemnon's prayer? 21. How were the dead treated? 22. Who is speaking in paragraph 4? 23. Is his request likely to be granted, and why? 24. What two conceptions of the future life do you find in these extracts? 25. What is evidently the common belief? 26. What did the Greeks believe about the relation of the spirit to the body?

27. What kind of literature is the *Iliad?* The *Odyssey?* 28. Were they written as a description of the manners and customs of early Greece? 29. Do we know that the government, religion, and manners and customs as we find them in these poems are not entirely imaginary? In a word, what right have we to attempt to form a picture of the life of that time by selecting bits of information from these poems? 30. What bearing does the fact that all parts of the *Iliad* are not of the same date have upon its value as evidence?

B. Life of the Greek Farmer. Hesiod, *Works and Days*

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, pp. 99–101

1. But when first the season of ploughing has appeared to mortals, even then rouse thyself, thy servants alike and thyself, ploughing during the season of ploughing, whether dry or wet, hasting very early, that so thy corn-lands may be full. In spring turn up the soil; and the ground tilled afresh in summer will not mock thy hopes: and sow thy fallow land while yet light. Fallow land is a guardian from death and ruin and a soother of children.

Make vows, too, to Jove infernal and chaste Demeter, that they may load the ripe holy seed-corn of Demeter, when first beginning thy ploughing, when thou hast taken in hand the goad at the extremity of the plough-tail, and touched the back of the oxen dragging the oaken peg of the pole with the leathern strap: and let thy servant boy behind, carrying a mattock, cause trouble to birds, whilst he covers over the seed. For good management is best to mortal men and bad management worst. Thus, if the Olympian god himself afterwards give a prosperous end, will the ears bend to the earth with fulness and thou wilt drive the cobwebs from thy bins, and I hope that thou wilt rejoice taking for thyself from substance existing within. And in plenty thou wilt come to the white spring, nor wilt thou gaze on others, but another man will be in want from you. . . .

But duly observe all things in your mind, nor let either the spring becoming white with blossoms, or the flowers returning at set seasons, escape your notice. But pass by the seat at the brazier's forge and the warm lodging-house in the winter season, when cold keeps men from toil; at which time an active man would greatly improve his household matters, lest the hardship of baneful winter along with poverty catch thee and with lean hand thou press a swollen foot. But many ill designs hath the idler, waiting for a vain hope, and in need of subsistence. . . . And 'tis no good hope that sustains a needy man, sitting at a lodging-house and who hath not means of life sufficient. Point out, then, to thy servants, when it is still mid-summer, "It will not be summer always: make your cabins."

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, p. 104

2. Even then, as I bid you, clothe yourself in a defence for your body, a soft cloak and a frock reaching to the ground; and into a scant warp weave an abundant woof; this cast around you that your hairs may not shiver, nor bristle, raised erect about your body. And about your feet bind suitable sandals of the hide of

an ox slaughtered with your might, having covered them thick within with felt. Then, when the season of cold is come, stitch together with the sinew of an ox the skins of first-born kids, that so upon your back you may throw a shelter from the rain; and on the head above keep a well-wrought felt hat, that you may not get your ears drenched. For bleak both is the morn, when the north wind falls upon one, and in the morning over the earth from the starry heaven a wheat-bringing mist is spread above the tillage of the rich.

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, pp. 107, 108

3. Urge thy servants, too, to thrash the holy gift of Demeter, when first Orion's strength shall have appeared, in a breezy place and on a well-rounded threshing floor: and by measure store it well in bins. And when at length you have laid up all your substance, duly prepared within your house, I recommend to you to get a houseless hireling and to seek a female servant without children, for a female servant with children is troublesome. And maintain a sharp-toothed dog; stint not his food, lest ever a day-slumbering man shall have plundered thy property. Gather in hay and litter, that your oxen and mule may have fodder for the year. Afterwards refresh the limbs of your servants and unyoke your pair of oxen.

But when Orion and Sirius shall have reached mid-heaven and rosy-fingered Aurora looked on Arcturus, then, Perses, cull and carry home all thy grape-clusters. Then expose them to the sun ten days and ten nights, shade them five days and on the sixth draw into vats the gifts of joyous Bacchus. But when now the Pleiads, the Hyads, and strong Orion set, then be thou mindful of ploughing in due season. And may the year be prosperous to thee in thy rustic matters.

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, pp. 90–93

4. And with him gods and men are indignant, who lives a slug-

gard's life, like in temper to stingless drones which lazily consume the labor of bees, by devouring it; but to thee let it be a pleasure to set in order seemly works, that so thy garner may be full of seasonable substance. From works men become both rich in flocks and wealthy; by working, too, thou wilt be dearer far to immortals and to mortals. For greatly do they hate sluggards. Now work is no disgrace, but sloth is a disgrace. And if thou shouldst work, quickly will the sluggard envy thee growing rich; for esteem and glory accompany wealth. . . . But after thy power, do sacrifice to the immortal gods, holily and purely, and burn moreover sleek thighs of victims and at other times propitiate them with libations and incense, both when you go to rest and when the holy light shall have risen; that so to thee they may entertain a propitious heart and spirit, that thou may buy the land of others, not others thine. Invite the man that loves thee to a feast, but let alone thine enemy; and especially invite him that dwelleth near thee; for, if, mark you, anything strange shall have happened at home, neighbors are wont to come ungirt, but kinsfolk gird themselves first. . . . Duly measure when thou borrowest from a neighbor, and duly repay in the very measure and better still, if thou canst, that so when in want thou mayest find that which may be relied on in future.

Gain not base gains; base gains are equal to losses. Love him that loves thee and be nigh unto him that attaches himself to thee: and give to him that may have given: give not to him that hath not given. To a giver, on the one hand, some have given, but to the withholder none give. A gift is good; but plunder evil, — a dealer of death. For whatsoever man shall have given willingly, he too would give much. He exults in his gift and is pleased in his spirit. But whoso shall have seized, in compliance with his shamelessness, even though it be but a little, yet that little curdles his heart's blood.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the principal crops of the Greek farmer as described by Hesiod? 2. Describe the methods of farming and the farm implements. 3. Upon what did the farmer believe that his success depended? 4. Against what bad practice does Hesiod warn the farmer? 5. What was the dress of the farmer and where did he obtain it? 6. What was the climate of the part of Greece (Bœotia) where Hesiod lived? 7. What good hints does Hesiod give about the management of the farm-house? 8. What is the meaning of the expression "day-slumbering man"? 9. To what kind of modern book would you compare this book of Hesiod's? 10. How would the two differ? 11. What is the value of this book of Hesiod's as a source of information concerning the life of the Greek farmer in his day? 12. Judging from Hesiod, what was the ideal of the Greek farmer? 13. What connection did there seem to be between religion and successful farming? 14. What sound ethical teaching do you find in this extract from Hesiod? 15. How does it compare with the ethical teaching of Christ?

The Shield of Hercules, p. 64

5. Then again on another side young men were making merry to the sound of the flute: these indeed disporting with dance and song, those on the other hand laughing. But to the flute-player they were proceeding, each of them: and festivals, choirs, and rejoicings were occupying all the city. Others again in front of the city had mounted on horseback and were darting along. And ploughers were cleaving the rich earth, and had their tunics girt neatly. But there was a thick standing crop. Some on their part indeed were reaping with sharp sickles the stafflike stalks laden with ears, as it were the present of Ceres. Others, I wot, were binding them in straw-ropes, and were laying the threshing-floor; whilst others with vine-sickles in their hands were gathering the fruit of the vines; others again were carrying to baskets from the vintagers clusters white and dark from tall rows, laden with foliage and silvery tendrils; and others again were carrying them

in baskets: near them was a row of vines wrought in gold, famous works of very skilful Vulcan, waving with leaves and trellises in silver, (these again, indeed, sporting each to the minstrel's flute,) weighed down with grapes: yes, and these, indeed, had been represented dark. Some were treading the grapes and others were drawing the juice; whilst others were contending with the fist, and in wrestling: others were chasing fleet-footed hares, sportsmen, and a brace of sharp-toothed hounds in front, eager to catch the hares, and they eager to escape them: and beside them horsemen were busy, and for prizes they were engaging in strife and toil: charioteers standing on well-compacted chariots were letting loose swift steeds, giving them the reins; and the close-joined chariots were flying rattling over the ground, and the naves of the wheels added to the din. They then, I wot, were busied in endless toil, nor had victory ever been achieved for them, but they were engaged in a yet-doubtful contest. Now to them also was proposed a huge tripod, within the course, wrought of gold, the famous work of skilful Vulcan.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the value of this poem as historical material? 2. How does its value differ from that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? 3. What can you learn from it about early Greek life that you have not already learned from sources previously studied?

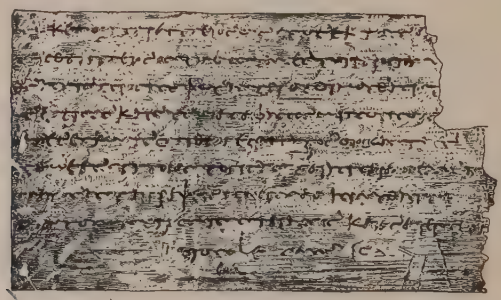

FIG. 3. PAPYRUS

II. COLONIZATION. GREEK LIFE ON THE COASTS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Strabo, II, p. 60

1. Corinth is said to be opulent from its mart. It is situated upon the isthmus. It commands two harbors, one near Asia, the other near Italy, and facilitates, by reason of so short a distance between them, an exchange of commodities on each side.

As the Sicilian strait, so formerly these seas were of difficult navigation, and particularly the sea above Maleæ, on account of the prevalence of contrary winds; whence the common proverb:

"When you double Maleæ, forget your home."

It was a desirable thing for the merchants coming from Asia, and from Italy, to discharge their lading at Corinth without being obliged to double Cape Maleæ. For goods exported from Peloponnesus, or imported by land, a toll was paid to those who had the keys of the country. This continued afterwards for ever. In after times they enjoyed even additional advantages, for the Isthmian games, which were celebrated there, brought thither great multitudes of people.

Strabo, I, pp. 268, 269

2. Marseilles, founded by the Phocæans, is built in a stony region. Its harbor lies beneath a rock, which is shaped like a theatre, and faces the south. It is well surrounded with walls, as well as the whole city, which is of considerable size. Within the citadel are placed the ephesium and the temple of the Delphian Apollo. This latter temple is common to all the Ionians; the ephesium is the temple consecrated to Diana of Ephesus. They

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say that when the Phocæans were about to quit their country, an oracle commanded them to take from Diana of Ephesus a conductor for their voyage. On arriving at Ephesus they therefore inquired how they might be able to obtain from the goddess what was enjoined them. The goddess appeared in a dream to Aristarcha, one of the most honorable women of the city, and commanded her to accompany the Phocæans, and to take with her a plan of the temple and statues. These things being performed, and the colony being settled, the Phocæans built a temple, and evinced their great respect for Aristarcha by making her priestess. All the colonies (sent out from Marseilles) hold this goddess in peculiar reverence, preserving both the shape of the image (of the goddess), and also every rite observed in the metropolis.

Strabo, I, p. 365

3. After Dicæarchia is Neapolis, (founded originally) by the Cumæi, but afterwards being peopled by Chalcidians, and certain Pithecussæans and Athenians, it was on this account denominated Naples.

Strabo, I, p. 385

4. Rhegium was founded by certain Chalcidenses, who, as they say, were decimated as an offering to Apollo in a time of scarcity, by order of an oracle, and afterwards removed hither from Delphi, taking with them certain others from home. As Antiochus says, the Zanclæans sent for the Chalcidenses, and appointed Antimnestus chief over them. Certain fugitives of the Messenians of Peloponnesus accompanied this colony.

Strabo, I, pp. 394–395

5. Antiochus[1] relates that an oracle having commanded the Greeks to found Crotona, Myscellus went forth to view the place, and having seen Sybaris already built on a neighboring river of

[1] Antiochus, contemporary of Herodotus, wrote a history of Sicily, gathering many oral traditions.

the same name, thought it better, and returned to the god to ask if he might be permitted to settle in that, instead of the other; but that the oracle answered, applying to him an epithet noticing his defective stature, (for Myscellus was somewhat crook-backed,) "O short-backed Myscellus, whilst seeking somewhat else of thyself, thou pursuest only misfortune: it is right to accept that which is proffered to thee;" and that he returned and built Crotona, wherein he was assisted by Archias, the founder of Syracuse, who happened to touch at Crotona by chance, as he was proceeding to the colony of the Syracusans. The Iapyges possessed Crotona before this time, as Ephorus [1] relates. The city cultivated martial discipline and athletic exercises to a great extent, and in one of the Olympic games all the seven wrestlers who obtained the palm in the stadium were Crotoniatæ; whence, it seems, the saying arose that the last wrestler of Crotona was the first of the other Greeks, and hence they say also is the origin of the expression, "more salubrious than Crotona," as instancing a place which had something to show, in the number of wrestlers which it produced, as a proof of its salubrity and the robust frame of body which it was capable of rearing. Thus it had many victors in the Olympic games, although it cannot be reckoned to have been long inhabited on account of the vast destruction of its citizens, who fell at the battle of the Sagras. Its celebrity too was not a little spread by the number of Pythagoreans who resided there, and Milo, who was the most renowned of wrestlers, and lived in terms of intimacy with Pythagoras, who abode long in this city.

Strabo, I, pp. 395, 396

6. Beyond this, at the distance of 200 stadia,[2] is situated Sybaris, a colony settled by the Achæans, between the two rivers Crati and Sybaris. Its founder was Is . . . the Helicæn. So great was

[1] Ephorus, 363–300 B.C., wrote a *Universal History*.
[2] Stadium=606 feet, 9 inches.

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the prosperity enjoyed by this city anciently, that it held dominion over four neighboring people and twenty-five towns; in the war with the Crotoniatæ it brought into the field 300,000 men, and occupied a circuit of fifty stadia on the Crati. But on account of the arrogance and turbulence of its citizens, it was deprived of all its prosperity by the Crotoniatæ in seventy days, who took the city, and turning the waters of the river (Crati), overwhelmed it with an inundation. Some time after, a few who had escaped came together and inhabited the site of their former city, but in time they were dispossessed by the Athenians and other Greeks, who came and settled amongst them, but they despised and subjugated them, and removed the city to a neighboring place, calling its name Thurii, from a fountain of that name. The water of the river Sybaris has the peculiar property of making the horses which drink it shy, for which reason they keep their horses away from the river.

Strabo, I, pp. 426, 427

7. The partheniæ, leaguing with the helots, conspired against the Lacedæmonians, and agreed to raise a Laconic felt hat in the market-place as a signal for the commencement of hostilities. Some of the helots betrayed the plot, but the government found it difficult to resist them by force, for they were many and all unanimous, and looked upon each other as brothers; those in authority therefore commanded such as were appointed to raise the signal, to depart out of the market-place; when they therefore perceived that their plot was disclosed they desisted, and the Lacedæmonians persuaded them, through the instrumentality of their fathers, to leave the country and colonize: and advised them, if they should get possession of a convenient place, to abide in it, but if not, they promised that a fifth part of Messenia should be divided amongst them on their return. So they departed and found the Greeks carrying on hostilities against the barbarians, and taking part in the perils of the war, they obtained possession of Tarentum, which they colonized.

Strabo, I, p. 377

8. The Greeks, however, succeeded in depriving the ancient inhabitants of a great portion of the midland country,[1] beginning even as early as the Trojan war; they increased in power, and extent of territory, to such a degree, that they called this region and Sicily, the *Magna Græcia.*

Strabo, I, pp. 403, 404

9. The cities situated on the side which forms the strait are first Messana, then Tauromenium, Catana, and Syracuse; between Catana were the ruined cities Naxos and Megara, situated where the rivers descending from Ætna fall into the sea, and afford good accommodation for shipping. . . . They say that Ephorus founded these first cities of the Greeks in Sicily in the tenth generation from the Trojan war. For those who preceded him were so terrified by the piratical customs of the Tyrrheni, and the ferocity of the savages of the neighborhood, that they did not even venture to resort thither for the purposes of commerce. Theocles, the Athenian, however, having been driven to Sicily by storms, observed both the weakness of the inhabitants and the excellence of the soil. On his return home, he was unable to persuade the Athenians to make any attempt, but he collected a numerous band of Chalcidians in Eubœa, with some Ionians and Dorians, whereof the most part were Megarenses, and sailed. The Chalcidians founded Naxos, and the Dorians Megara, which was at first called Hybla. . . . The first of the cities which at present remain on the aforesaid side is Messana, built at the head of the gulf of Pelorias, which is curved very considerably towards the east, and forms a bay. The passage across to Rhegium is sixty stadia, but the distance to the Columna Rheginorum is much less. It was from a colony of the Messenians of the Peloponnesus that it was named Messana, having been originally called Zancle, on account

[1] Between the east and west coasts in southern Italy.

of the great inequality of the coast. . . . It was originally founded by the people of Naxos near Catana.

Strabo, I, pp. 406–408

10. Archias, sailing from Corinth, founded Syracuse about the same period that Naxos and Megara were built. They say that Myscellus and Archias having repaired to Delphi at the same time to consult the oracle, the god demanded whether they would choose wealth or health, when Archias preferred wealth and Myscellus health, upon which the oracle assigned Syracuse to the former to found, and Crotona to the latter. And certainly, in like manner as it fell out that the Crotoniatæ should inhabit a state so notable for salubrity as we have described, so such great riches have accrued to the Syracusans that their name has been embodied in the proverb applied to those who have too great wealth, viz. that they have not yet attained to a tithe of the riches of the Syracusans. . . . Archias, pursuing his route, met with certain Dorians at Zephyrium, come from Sicily, and who had quitted the company of those who had founded Megara; these he took with him, and in conjunction with them founded Syracuse. The city flourished on account of the fertility of the country and the convenience of the harbors; the citizens became great rulers; while under tyrants themselves, they domineered over the other states (of Sicily), and when freed from despotism, they set at liberty such as had been enslaved by the barbarians; of these barbarians some were the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, while others had come across from the continent. The Greeks suffered none of the barbarians to approach the shore, although they were not able to expel them entirely from the interior. Siculi, Sicani, Morgetes, and some others, still inhabit the island to the present day, amongst whom also were the Iberians, who, as Ephorus relates, were the first of the barbarians that are considered to have been settlers in Sicily.

Strabo, I, p. 487

11. On the coast of Illyria, along its whole extent, and in the neighboring islands, there are numerous excellent harbors, contrary to what occurs on the opposite Italian coast, where there are none. As in Italy, however, the climate is warm and the soil productive of fruits; olives also and vines grow readily, except in some few excessively rugged places. Although Illyria possesses these advantages, it was formerly neglected, through ignorance, perhaps, of its fertility; but it was principally avoided on account of the savage manners of the inhabitants, and their piratical habits.

The region situated above the seacoast is mountainous, cold, and at times covered with snow. The northern part is still colder, so that vines are rarely to be met with either in the hills or in the plains lower down.

Strabo, I, p. 476

12. After leaving the above-mentioned mountainous district, is the city Theodosia, situated on a plain; the soil is fertile, and there is a harbor capable of containing a hundred vessels. This formerly was the boundary of the territory of the Bosporians and of the Tauri. Then follows a fertile country extending to Panticapæum, the capital of the Bosporians, which is situated at the mouth of the Palus Mæotis. Between Theodosia and Panticapæum there is a tract of about 530 stadia in extent. The whole country is corn-producing; there are villages in it, and a city called Nymphæum, with a good harbor.

Panticapæum is a hill inhabited all round for a circuit of twenty stadia. To the east it has a harbor, and docks capable of containing about thirty vessels; there is also an acropolis. It was founded by the Milesians.

Strabo, I, pp. 489, 490

13. If we set out from the sacred mouth of the Danube, having on the right hand the continuous line of coast, we find at the dis-

tance of 500 stadia, Ister, a small town founded by Milesians; then Tomis, another small town, at the distance of 250 stadia; then Callatis, a city, a colony of the Heracleotæ, at 280 stadia; then, at 1300 stadia, Apollonia, a colony of Milesians, having the greater part of the buildings upon a small island, where is a temple of Apollo.

Strabo, II, p. 154

14. These cities, Eretria and Chalcis, when their population was greatly augmented, sent out considerable colonies to Macedonia, for Eretria founded cities about Pallene and Mount Athos; Chalcis founded some near Olynthus, which Philip destroyed. There are also many settlements in Italy and Sicily, founded by Chalcidians. These colonies were sent out, according to Aristotle, when the government of the Hippobatæ (or knights), as it is called, was established; it was an aristocratical government, the heads of which held their office by virtue of the amount of their property. At the time that Alexander passed over into Asia, they enlarged the compass of the walls of their city, including within them Canethus, and the Euripus, and erected towers upon the bridge, a wall, and gates.

Strabo, II, pp. 291, 292

15. Next is Sinope itself, distant from Armene fifty stadia, the most considerable of all the cities in that quarter. It was founded by Milesians, and when the inhabitants had established a naval force they commanded the sea within the Cyanean rocks, and were allies of the Greeks in many naval battles beyond these limits. . . . It has received advantages from nature which have been improved by art. It is built upon the neck of a peninsula; on each side of the isthmus are harbors, stations for vessels, and fisheries worthy of admiration for the capture of the pelamides. Of these fisheries we have said that the people of Sinope have the second, and the Byzantines the third, in point of excellence.

Strabo, II, p. 351

16. Abydos was founded by Milesians by permission of Gyges, king of Lydia; for those places and the whole of the Troad were under his sway.

Strabo, III, p. 5

17. The present city (Miletus) has four harbors, one of which will admit a fleet of ships. The citizens have achieved many great deeds, but the most important is the number of colonies which they established. The whole Euxine, for instance, and the Propontis, and many other places, are peopled with their settlers.

Anaximenes [1] of Lampsacus says, that the Milesians colonized both the island Icarus and Lerus, and Limnæ on the Hellespont, in the Chersonesus; in Asia, Abydus, Arisba, and Pæsus; on the island of the Cyziceni, Artace and Cyzicus; in the interior of the Troad, Scepsis.

Strabo, I, p. 491

18. This horn, close to the walls of Byzantium, is a bay, extending westwards sixty stadia, and resembling a stag's horn, for it is divided into a great many bays, like so many branches. The pelamides resort to these bays, and are easily taken, on account of their great number, and the force of the current, which drives them together in a body; and also on account of the narrowness of the bays, which is such that they are caught even by the hand. These fish are bred in the marshes of the Mæotis. When they have attained a little size and strength, they rush through the mouth in shoals, and are carried along the Asiatic coast as far as Trapezus and Pharnacia. It is here that the fishery begins, but it is not carried on to any considerable extent, because the fish are not of a proper size at this place. When they get as far as Sinope, they are in better season for the fishery, and for the purpose of salting. But when they have reached and passed the Cyaneæ, a white rock projects from the Chalcedonian shore, which alarms the fish, so

[1] Anaximenes, teacher of Alexander the Great, lived in the fourth century, B.C.

that they immediately turn away to the opposite coast. There they are caught by the stream, and the nature of the places being such as to divert the current of the sea in that part toward Byzantium, and the horn near it, the fish are impelled thither in a body, and afford to the Byzantines, and to the Roman people, a large revenue. The Chalcedonians, however, although situated near, and on the opposite side, have no share of this supply, because the pelamides do not approach their harbors.

Strabo, III, p. 239

19. After the Bolbitine mouth there runs out to a great distance a low and sandy promontory. It is called Agnu-ceras (or Willow Point). Then follows the watch-tower of Perseus, and the fortress of the Milesians. For in the time of Psammetichus, and when Cyaxares was king of the Medes, some Milesians with thirty vessels steered into the Bolbitine mouth, disembarked there, and built the above-mentioned fortress. Some time afterwards they sailed up to the Saitic Nome, and having conquered Inarus in an engagement at sea, founded the city Naucratis, not far above Schedia.

Strabo, III, p. 292

20. Cyrene was founded by the inhabitants of Thera, a Lacedæmonian island which was formerly called Calliste, as Callimachus [1] says:

"Calliste once its name, but Thera in later times, the mother of my home, famed for its steeds."

The harbor of Cyrene is situated opposite to Criu-Metopon, the western cape of Crete, distant 2000 stadia. The passage is made with a south-southwest wind. Cyrene is said to have been founded by Battus, whom Callimachus claims to have been his ancestor. The city flourished from the excellence of the soil, which is peculiarly adapted for breeding horses, and the growth of fine crops.

[1] Callimachus lived in the first half of the third century, B.C.

Herodotus, V, 42

21. Cleomenes, as it is said, was not of sound mind, but almost mad; whereas Dorieus was the first of the young men of his age, and was fully convinced that by his virtues he should obtain the sovereignty; so that, being of this persuasion, when Anaxandrides died, and the Lacedæmonians, following the usual custom, appointed the eldest, Cleomenes, to be king, Dorieus, being very indignant, and disdaining to be reigned over by Cleomenes, demanded a draft of men from the Spartans, and led them out to found a colony, without having consulted the oracle at Delphi to what land he should go and settle, nor doing any of those things that are usual on such occasions; but as he was very much grieved, he directed his ships to Libya, and some Theræans piloted him. Having arrived at Cinyps, he settled near the river, in the most beautiful spot of the Libyans. But in the third year, being driven out from thence by the Macæ, Libyans, and Carthaginians, he returned to Peloponnesus.

QUESTIONS

1. Locate, in color, upon an outline map of the Mediterranean (1) the colonizing states and (2) their colonies, drawing your information from the above extracts and a map. 2. In what parts of the Mediterranean are the colonies the most numerous? 3. What states founded the largest number of colonies? 4. Were there any reasons that you can discover why these particular states should have been the leaders in colonization? 5. At what time were the colonies founded? 6. How did Strabo learn about these things? 7. Can we feel as certain of the truth of what we find in Strabo about the Greek colonies as we are concerning the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the United States? 8. What connection was there between colonization and religion? 9. What kind of places attracted the colonists? 10. What were the occupations of the colonists? 11. Did the colonists of the same colony all come from the same place? 12. Why did they leave their homes? 13. What was the relation of the colonists to the mother country? 14. To the peoples in the country in which they were settled?

15. What was the government of the colonies? 16. What were some of the characteristics of a colonial city? 17. What were some of the most famous colonies and or what were they famous? 18. What was the climate of the countries colonized? 19. What were the products of the colonies and what was done with them? 20. Would it be an easy matter for the Greek colonies to form a single state like the United States? 21. Did they have any bonds of unity? 22. Compute in miles (mile = 5280 feet) the distances given in the text in *stadia*. 23. Make an outline, based upon the answers to the above questions, after the answers have been discussed in the class. Write a narrative with the outline as a foundation, citing in foot-notes the evidence for the various statements.

FIG. 4. RESTING AT A WAYSIDE HERM

III. UNIFICATION OF GREEK LIFE

A. Oracles

Herodotus, I, 13

1. Thus Gyges obtained the kingdom, and was confirmed in it by the oracle at Delphi. For when the Lydians resented the murder of Candaules, and were up in arms, the partisans of Gyges and the other Lydians came to the following agreement: that if the oracle should pronounce him king of the Lydians, he should reign; if not, he should restore the power to the Heraclidæ. The oracle, however, answered accordingly, and so Gyges became king. But the Pythian added this, "that the Heraclidæ should be avenged on the fifth descendant of Gyges." Of this prediction neither the Lydians nor their kings took any notice until it was actually accomplished.

Herodotus, V, 62, 63

2. While Hippias was tyrant, and embittered against the Athenians on account of the death of Hipparchus, the Alcmæonidæ, who were Athenians by extraction, and were then banished by the Pisistratidæ, when they with other Athenian exiles did not succeed in their attempt to effect their return by force, but were signally defeated in their endeavors to reinstate themselves and liberate Athens, having fortified Lipsydrium, which is above Pæonia; thereupon the Alcmæonidæ, practising every scheme against the Pisistratidæ, contracted with the amphictyons to build the temple which is now at Delphi, but then did not exist; and as they were wealthy, and originally men of distinction, they constructed the temple in a more beautiful manner than the plan required, both in other respects, and also, though it was agreed they

should make it of porine stone, they built its front of Parian marble. Accordingly, as the Athenians state, these men, while staying at Delphi, prevailed on the Pythian by money, when any Spartans should come thither to consult the oracle, either on their own account or that of the public, to propose to them to liberate Athens from servitude. The Lacedæmonians, when the same warning was always given them, sent Anchimolius, son of Aster, a citizen of distinction, with an army to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens, though they were particularly united to them by the ties of friendship, for they considered their duty to the god more obligatory than their duty to men.

Strabo, II, pp. 117, 118

3. We have remarked, that Parnassus itself is situated on the western boundaries of Phocis. The western side of this mountain is occupied by the Locri Ozolæ; on the southern is Delphi, a rocky spot, resembling in shape a theatre; on its summit is the oracle, and also the city, which comprehends a circle of sixteen stadia. Above it lies Lycoreia; here the Delphians were formerly settled above the temple. At present they live close to it around the Castalian fountain. In front of the city, on the southern part, is Cirphis, a precipitous hill, leaving in the intermediate space a wooded ravine, through which the river Pleistus flows. Below Cirphis, near the sea, is Cirrha, from which there is an ascent to Delphi of about eighty stadia.

The temple at Delphi is now much neglected, although formerly it was held in the greatest veneration. Proofs of the respect which was paid to it are the treasuries constructed at the expense of communities and princes, where was deposited the wealth dedicated to sacred uses, the works of the most eminent artists, the Pythian games, and a multitude of celebrated oracles.

The place where the oracle is delivered is said to be a deep hollow cavern, the entrance to which is not very wide. From it rises an exhalation which inspires a divine frenzy: over the mouth is placed

FIG. 5. SCULPTURED DRUM OF COLUMN FROM EPHESUS

a lofty tripod on which the Pythian Princess ascends to receive the exhalation, after which she gives the prophet's response in verse or prose. The prose is adapted to measure by poets who are in the service of the temple. . . .

Although the highest honor was paid to this temple on account of the oracle, (for it was the most exempt of any from deception,) yet its reputation was owing in part to its situation in the centre of all Greece, both within and without the isthmus. It was also supposed to the the centre of the habitable earth.

Pausanias, II, p. 228

4. And the temple which still exists was built by the amphictyones out of the sacred money, and its architect was the Corinthian Spintharus.

Herodotus, I, 14

5. Gyges, having obtained the kingdom, sent many offerings to Delphi: for most of the silver offerings at Delphi are his; and besides the silver he gave a vast quantity of gold, and among the rest, what is especially worthy of mention, the bowls of gold, six in number, were dedicated by him. This Gyges is the first of the barbarians whom we know of that dedicated offerings at Delphi: except Midas, son of Gordius, king of Phrygia. For Midas dedicated the royal throne, on which he used to sit and administer justice, a piece of workmanship deserving of admiration. This throne stands in the same place as the bowls of Gyges.

Herodotus, I, 46, 47

6. After he (Crœsus) had formed this purpose, he determined to make trial as well of the oracles of Greece as that in Lydia; and sent different persons to different places, some to Delphi, some to Abæ of Phocis, and some to Dodona; others were sent to Amphiaraos and Trophonios, and others to Branchidæ of Milesia.

These were the Grecian oracles to which Crœsus sent to consult. . . . But no sooner had the Lydians entered the temple of Delphi

to consult the god and ask the question enjoined them than the Pythian thus spoke in hexameter verse: "I know the number of the sands and the measure of the sea; I understand the dumb and hear him that does not speak; the savor of the hard-shell tortoise boiled in brass with the flesh of lamb strikes on my senses; brass is laid beneath it and brass is put over it."

The Lydians, having written down this answer of the Pythian, returned to Sardis. . . . When, however, he (Crœsus) heard that from Delphi, he immediately adored it, and approved of it, being convinced that the oracle at Delphi alone was a real oracle, because it had discovered what he had done. For when he had sent persons to consult the different oracles, watching the appointed day (Crœsus' instructions to his envoys were that, computing the days from the time of their departure from Sardis, they should consult the oracle on the hundredth day by asking what Crœsus was then doing), he had recourse to the following contrivance: having thought what it was impossible to discover or guess at, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them himself together in a brazen caldron and put on it a cover of brass.

QUESTIONS

1. What was an oracle? 2. How many were there in Greece? 3. Where was the most important located? 4. Describe its location and appearance. 5. What kinds of questions were laid before the oracles and by whom? 6. How was the answer obtained and in what form was it given? 7. What was there peculiar about the answers? 8. Did the Greeks believe in the truth of the answers? 9. Did they believe in the honesty of the priests? 10. Do we know that the story told by Herodotus about the Alcmæonidæ is true? 11. If true, what effect would it have upon the respect of the Greeks for the oracle? 12. Is it possible that the Pythian priestess was more than a common woman? 13. Are there people to-day that claim similar powers? 14. Is it probable that the story told by Herodotus about Crœsus and the oracle is true? 15. How was the oracle supported?

B. Amphictyonies

Pausanias, II, p. 232

1. Some think that Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, appointed the great council of the Greeks, and that was why those who assembled at the council were called amphictyones; but Androtion in his history of Attica says that originally delegates came to Delphi from the neighboring people who were called amphictyones, and in process of time the name amphictyones prevailed. . . . And in my time the amphictyones were thirty members. Six came from Nicopolis, six from Macedonia, six from Thessaly, two from the Bœotians (who were originally in Thessaly and called Æolians), two from Phocis, and two from Delphi, one from ancient Doris, one from the Locrians, called Ozolæ, one from the Locrians opposite Eubœa, one from Eubœa, one from Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, and Megara, and one from Athens. Athens and Delphi and Nicopolis sent delegates to every amphictyonic council: but the other cities I have mentioned only join the amphictyonic council at certain times.

Strabo, II, p. 109

2. The amphictyonic council usually assembled at Oncestus, in the territory of Haliartus, near the lake Copaïs, and the Teneric plain. It is situated on a height, devoid of trees, where is a temple of Neptune, also without trees.

Strabo, II, p. 118

3. As the situation of Delphi is convenient, persons easily assembled there, particularly those from the neighborhood, of whom the amphictyonic body is composed. It is the business of this body to deliberate on public affairs, and to it is more particularly intrusted the guardianship of the temple for the common good: for large sums of money were deposited there, and votive offerings, which required great vigilance and religious care. The early history of this body is unknown, but among the names which are re-

corded, Acrisius appears to have been the first to have regulated its constitution, to have determined what cities were to have votes in the council, and to have assigned the number of votes and mode of voting. To some cities he gave a single vote each, or a vote to two cities, or to several cities conjointly. He also defined the class of questions which might arise between the different cities, which were to be submitted to the decision of the amphictyonic tribunals; and subsequently many other regulations were made, but this body, like that of the Achaians, was finally dissolved.

At first twelve cities are said to have assembled, each of which sent a pylagoras. The convention was held twice a year, in spring and autumn. But latterly a great number of cities assembled. They called both the vernal and the autumnal convention Pylæan, because it was held at Pylæ, which has the name also of Thermopylæ. The pylagoræ sacrificed to Ceres.

In the beginning, the persons in the neighborhood only assembled or consulted the oracle, but afterwards people repaired thither from a distance for this purpose, sent gifts, and constructed treasuries.

Herodotus, VII, 200

4. To the south of the Asopus is another river, the Phœnix. It is the narrowest, for only a single carriage road has been constructed there. From the river Phœnix it is fifteen stades to Thermopylæ, and between the river Phœnix and Thermopylæ is a village, the name of which is Anthela, by which the Asopus flowing falls into the sea. The country about it is wide, and in it is situated a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, and there are the seats of the amphictyons and a temple of Amphictyon himself.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the amphictyonic council? 2. Where and when did it meet? 3. Why did it meet? 4. Of whom was it composed? 5. How was it related to the oracle at Delphi?

C. Games and Festivals

Pausanias, I, pp. 316, 318

1. From the time the Olympian games were revived continuously, prizes were first instituted for running, and Coræbus of Elis was the victor. His statue is at Olympia and his grave is on the borders of Elis. And in the 14th Olympiad afterwards the double course was introduced, when Hypenus, a native of Pisa, won the wild olive crown, and Acanthus the second. And in the 18th Olympiad they remembered the pentathlon and the wrestling. . . . And in the 23d Olympiad they ordained prizes for boxing. . . . And in the 25th Olympiad they had a race of full-grown horses. . . . And in the 8th Olympiad late they introduced the pancratium and the riding race. The horse of Crannonian Crauxidas got in first, and the competitors for the pancratium were beaten by the Syracusan Lygdamus, who has his sepulchre at the stone quarries of Syracuse. And I don't know whether Lygdamus was really as big as the Theban Hercules, but that is the tradition at Syracuse. And the contest of the boys was not a revival of ancient usage, but the people of Elis instituted it because the idea pleased them. So prizes were instituted for running and wrestling among boys in the 307th Olympiad. . . . And in the 41st Olympiad afterwards they invited boxing boys. . . . And the race in heavy armor was tried in the 65th Olympiad as an exercise for war, I think; and of those who ran with their shields Damaretus of Heræum was the victor. . . .

The order of the games in our day is to sacrifice victims to the god and then to contend in the pentathlon and horse-race, according to the programme established in the 77th Olympiad, for before this horses and men contended on the same day. And at that period the pancrataists did not appear till night, for they could not compete sooner, so much time being taken up by the horse-races and pentathlon. . . . But in the 25th Olympiad after-

wards nine general umpires were appointed, three for the horses, three to watch the pentathlon, and three to preside over the remaining games. And in the 2d Olympiad after this a tenth umpire was appointed. And in the 103d Olympiad, as the people of Elis had twelve tribes, a general umpire was appointed by each.

Pausanias, II, p. 138

2. He won they say the horse-race at Olympia, when Hercules the Theban established the Olympian games. Why a crown of wild olive was given to the victor at Olympia I have shown in my account of Elis, and why of laurel at Delphi I shall show hereafter. And at the Isthmian games pine, at the Nemean games parsley, were wont to be the prize, as we know from the cases of Palæmon and Archemorus. But most games have a crown of palm as the prize, and everywhere the palm is put into the right hand of the victor.

Thucydides, III, 104.

3. It was at this time, too, after the purification, that the Athenians first celebrated the quinquennial festival of the Delian games. There had been, however, even in very early times, a great assembly of the Ionians and the neighboring islanders held at Delos; for they used to come to the feast with their wives and children, as the Ionians now do to the Ephesian festivals, and gymnastic and musical contests were held, and the different cities took up bands of dancers. Homer shows most clearly that such was the case, in the following verses, taken from a hymn to Apollo:

"Anon to Delos, Phœbus, wouldst thou come,
Still most delighting in thine island-home;
Where the long-robed Ionians thronging meet,
With wives and children, at thy hallow'd seat;
With buffets, dance, and song extol thy name,
And win thy smile upon their solemn game."

That there was a musical contest also, and that they went to take part in it, he shows again in the following verses, taken from the same hymn. For after mentioning the Delian dance of the women, he ends his praise of the god with these verses, in which he also makes mention of himself:

"Now be Apollo kind, and Dian too;
And ye, fair Delian damsels, all adieu!
But in your memory grant me still a home;
And oft as to your sacred isle may come
A pilgrim care-worn denizen of earth,
And ask, while joining in your social mirth,
'Maidens, of all the bards that seek your coast,
'Who sings the sweetest, and who charms you most?'
Then answer one and all, with gracious smile,
'A blind old man who lives in Chios' rocky isle.'"

Such evidence does Homer afford of there having been, even in early times, a great assembly and festival at Delos. But afterward, though the islanders and the Athenians sent the bands of dancers with sacrifices, the games and the greater part of the observances were abolished — as is most probable, through adversity — until the Athenians held the games at that time, with horse-races, which before had not been usual.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 4, 30

4. B.C. 370. The Pythian games were now approaching, and an order went round the cities from Jason to make preparation for the solemn sacrifice of oxen, sheep, and goats, and swine. It was reported that although the requisitions upon the several cities were moderate, the number of beeves did not fall short of a thousand, while the rest of the sacrificial beasts exceeded ten times that number. He issued a proclamation also to this effect: a golden wreath of victory should be given to whichever city could produce

the best-bred bull to head the procession in honor of the god. And lastly there was an order issued to all the Thessalians to be ready for a campaign at the date of the Pythian games. His intention, as people said, was to act as manager of the solemn assembly and games in person. What the thought was that passed through his mind with reference to the sacred money, remains to this day uncertain; only a tale is rife to the effect that in answer to an inquiry of the Delphians, "What ought we to do, if he takes any of the treasures of the god?" the god made answer, "He would see to that himself."

Strabo, II, p. 120

5. There was anciently a contest held at Delphi, of players on the cithara, who executed a pæan in honor of the god. It was instituted by Delphians. But after the Crisæan war the amphictyons, in the time of Eurylochus, established contests for horses and gymnastic sports, in which the victor was crowned. These were called Pythian games. The players on the cithara were accompanied by players on the flute, and by citharists, who performed without singing. They performed a strain (Melos), called the Pythian mood (Nomos). It consisted of five parts; the anacrusis, the ampeira, cataceleusmus, iambics and dactyls, and pipes. Timosthenes, the commander of the fleet of the Second Ptolemy, and who was the author of a work in ten books on harbors, composed a melos. His object was to celebrate in this melos the contest of Apollo with the serpent Python. The anacrusis was intended to express the prelude; the ampeira, the first onset of the contest; the cataceleusmus, the contest itself; the iambics and dactyls denoted the triumphal strain on obtaining the victory, together with musical measures, of which the dactyl is peculiarly appropriated to praise, and the use of the iambic to insult and reproach; the syringes or pipes described the death, the players imitating the hissings of the expiring monster.

Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, IX

6. Fit speech may I find for my journey in the Muses' car; and let me therewith have daring and powers of ample scope. To back the prowess of a friend I came, when Lampromachos won his Isthmian crown, when on the same day both he and his brother overcame. And afterwards at the gates of Corinth two triumphs again befell Epharmostos and more in the valleys of Nemea. At Argos he triumphed over men, as over boys at Athens. And I might tell how at Marathon he stole from among the beardless and confronted the full-grown for the prize of silver vessels, how without a fall he threw his men with swift and coming shock, and how loud the shouting pealed when round the ring he ran, in the beauty of his youth and fair form and fresh from fairest deeds.

Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, X

7. Ample is the glory stored for Olympian winners; thereof my shepherd tongue is fain to keep some part in fold. But only by the help of God is wisdom kept ever blooming in the soul.

Son of Archestratos, Agesidamos, know certainly that for thy boxing I will lay a glory of sweet strains upon thy crown of golden olive and will have in remembrance the race of the Lokrians colony in the west.

Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, XI

8. Who then won to their lot the new-appointed crown by hands or feet or chariot, setting before them the prize of glory in the games, and winning it by their act? In the foot-race down the straight course of the stadion was Likymnios' son Oionos first, from Nodea had he led his host: in the wrestling was Tegea glorified by Echemos: Doryklos won the prize of boxing, a dweller in the city of Tiryns, and with the four-horse chariot, Samos of Mantinea, Halirrhotios' son: with the javelin Phrastor hit the mark: in distance Enikeus beyond all others hurled the stone with

a circling sweep, and all the warrior company thundered a great applause.

Then on the evening the lovely shining of the fair-faced moon beamed forth, and all the precinct sounded with songs of festal glee, after the manner which is to this day for triumph.

Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, XIII

9. Also two parsley-wreaths shadowed his head before the people at the games of Isthmos, nor doth Nemea tell a different tale. And of his father Thessalos' lightning feet is record by the streams of Alpheos, and at Pytho he hath renown for the single and for the double stadion gained both in a single day, and in the same month at rocky Athens a day of swiftness crowned his hair for three illustrious deeds, and the Hellotia seven times, and at the games of Poseidon between seas longer hymns followed his father Ptoiodoros with Terpsias and Eritimos. And how often ye were first at Delphi or in the Pastures of the Lion, though with full many do I match your crowd of honors, yet can I no more surely tell than the tale of pebbles on the sea-shore.

Pindar, *Nemean Odes*, VI

10. From the pleasant meeting-places of Nemea hath the athlete boy come back, who following the ordinance of Zeus hath now approved him no baffled hunter in his wrestling-quest, and hath guided his feet by the foot-prints of Praxidamas, his father's father, of whose blood he sprang.

For Praxidamas also by his Olympian victory first won the olive-wreath from Alpheos for the Aiakidai, and five times being crowned at Isthmos, at Nemea thrice, he took away thereby the obscurity of Sokleides, who was the eldest of the sons of Agesimachos.

For these three warriors attained unto the topmost height of prowess, of all who essayed the games, and by the grace of God to no other house hath the boxing-match given keeping of so many crowns in the inmost place of all Hellas.

For at sacred Pytho in like wise did a scion of the same stock overcome, with the thong of the boxer bound about his hand, even Kallias in whom were well-pleased the children of Leto of the golden distaff, and beside Kastaly in the evening his name burnt bright, when the glad sounds of the Graces rose.

Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, I

11. For six crowns has Isthmos given from her games to the people of Kadmos, a fair glory of triumph for my country, for the land wherein Alkmene bare her dauntless son, before whom trembled aforetime the fierce hounds of Geryon.

But I for Herodotos' praise am fain to do honor unto his four-horsed car, and to marry to the strain of Kastoreian or Iolaic song the fame that he has earned, handling his reins in his own and no helping hand.

For these Kastor and Iolaos were of all heroes the mightiest charioteers, the one to Lakedaimon, the other born to Thebes. And at the games they entered oftenest for the strife, and with tripods and caldrons and cups of gold they made fair their houses, attaining unto victorious crowns: clear shineth their prowess in the foot-race, run naked or with clattering shield; and when they hurled the javelin and the quoit; for there was no fivefold game, but for each several feat there was a prize.

QUESTIONS

1. At how many places were games celebrated in Greece? 2. Locate them on a map of Greece. 3. Why were the games celebrated? 4. Who attended the games? 5. What were the characteristic features of the different games? 6. Which of the games were the most famous? 7. What were the rewards of the victors in the games? 8. Was it a great honor to win in the games? 9. Make a list of the effects that the games must have had upon Greek life.

IV. THE RISE OF SPARTA AND ATHENS

A. Spartan Conquests and Spartan Society

a. Conquest of the Peloponnesus

Pausanias, I, p. 171

1. And the son of Agesilaus was Archelaus. In his reign the Lacedæmonians conquered in war and enslaved one of the neighboring cities called Aegys, suspecting that the people of it had an understanding with the Arcadians. And Charillus, the king of the other family, assisted Archelaus against Aegys. . . . And the son of Archelaus was Teleclus. In his reign the Lacedæmonians took in war the neighboring cities of Amyclæ and Pharis and Geranthræ, which were then in the possession of the Achæans, and razed them to the ground. The inhabitants however of Pharis and Geranthræ, being terrified at the approach of the Dorians, agreed to evacuate the Peloponnese upon conditions: but the people of Amyclæ they could not drive out at first assault, but only after a long siege and the greatest exhibition of valor.

Pausanias, I, p. 180

2. And Eurypon had a son Prytanis, and it was in his days that animosity broke out between the Lacedæmonians and Argives, and even earlier than this quarrel they fought with the Cynurians, but during the succeeding generations, when Eunomus the son of Prytanis and Polydectes the son of Eunomus were kings, Sparta continued at peace. But Charillus the son of Polydectes ravaged the Argive territory, and made a raid into Argolis, and under his leadership the Spartans went out to Tegea, when the Lacedæmonians hoped to take Tegea and slice the district off from Arcadia

following a beguiling oracle. And after the death of Charillus Nicander his son succeeded to the kingdom, and it was in his reign that the Messenians killed Teleclus the king of the other family in the temple of Artemis Limnas. And Nicander invaded Argolis with an army, and ravaged most of the country. And the Asinæans, having taken part with the Lacedæmonians in this expedition, not long afterwards paid the penalty to the Argives in the destruction of their country and their own exile.

Pausanias, I, p. 275

3. And the Lacedæmonians, when they had made themselves masters of Messenia, shared it out among themselves, all but the territory of the Asinæi, and Methone they gave to the people of Nauplia, who had recently been ejected by the Argives.

Pausanias, I, p. 164

4. And when the Lacedæmonians under their king Nicander, the son of Charillus, the son of Polydectes, the son of Eunomus, the son of Prytanis, the son of Eurypon, invaded Argolis with an army, the people of Asine joined them, and ravished with them the territory of the Argives. But when the Lacedæmonian force went home again, then the Argives and their king Eratus marched against Asine. And for some time the people of Asine defended their walls, and slew several of the most valiant of the Argives and among them Lysistratus; but when their walls were carried, then they put their wives and children on shipboard and left the town, and the Argives razed it to the ground, and added it to their territory, but they left the temple of Apollo standing, and it is now to be seen, and they buried Lysistratus near it.

Thucydides, IV, 53

5. This Cytherea is an island lying off Laconia, opposite to Maleæ. The inhabitants are Laconians, of the class of the perioeci, and an officer called the judge of Cythera went over to the

place annually. They also sent over regularly a garrison of heavy-armed and paid great attention to it. For it was their landing-place for merchantmen from Egypt and Lybia; and at the same time privateers were less able to annoy Laconia from the sea, the only side on which it could be injured; for the whole of it runs out toward the Sicilian and Cretan seas.

Tyrtæus, *War Songs*, III

This — this is virtue: This — the noblest meed
That can adorn our youth with fadeless rays;
While all the perils of the adventurous deed,
The new-strung vigor of the state repays.

Amid the foremost of the embattled train,
Lo, the young hero hails the glowing fight;
And, though fall'n troops around him press the plain,
Still fronts the foe, nor brooks inglorious flight.

His life — his fervid soul opposed to death,
He dares the terrors of the field defy;
Kindles each spirit with his panting breath,
And bids his comrade-warriors nobly die!

See, see, dismayed, the phalanx of the foe
Turns round, and hurries o'er the plain afar:
While doubling, as afresh, the deadly blow,
He rules, intrepid chief, the waves of war.

Now fall'n, the noblest of the van, he dies!
His city by the beauteous death renowned;
His low-bent father marking, where he lies,
The shield, the breastplate, hacked by many a wound.

The young — the old, alike commingling tears,
His country's heavy grief bedews the grave;
And all his race in verdant lustre wears
Fame's richest wreath, transmitted from the brave.

Though mixed with earth the perishable clay,
His name shall live, while glory loves to tell,
"True to his country how he won the day,
How firm the hero stood, how calm he fell!

But if he 'scape the doom of death, (the doom
To long — long dreary slumbers,) he returns,
While trophies flash, and victor-laurels bloom,
And all the splendor of the triumph burns.

The old — the young — caress him, and adore;
And with the city's love, through life, repaid,
He sees each comfort, that endears, in store,
Till, the last hour, he sinks to Pluto's shade.

Old as he droops, the citizens, o'erawed,
(Ev'n veterans,) to his mellow glories yield;
Nor would in thought dishonor or defraud
The hoary soldier of the well-fought field.

Be yours to reach such eminence of fame;
To gain such heights of virtue nobly dare,
My youths! and, 'mid the fervor of acclaim,
Press, press to glory; nor remit the war!

Tyrtæus, *War Songs*, IV

Rouse, rouse, my youths! the chain of torpor break!
Spurn idle rest, and couch the glittering lance!
What, does not shame with blushes stain your cheek,
Quick-mantling, as ye catch the warrior's glance?

* * * * *

What time the fates ordain, pale death appears:
Then, with firm step and sword high drawn, depart;
And, marching through the first thick shower of spears,
Beneath thy buckler guard the intrepid heart

Each mortal, though he boast celestial fires,
Slave to the sovereign destiny of death,
Or 'mid the carnage of the plain expires,
Or yields unwept at home his coward breath.

Yet sympathy attends the brave man's bier;
Sees on each wound the balmy grief bestowed;
And, as in death the universal tear,
Through life inspires the homage of a god.

QUESTIONS

1. How did Sparta become the most powerful state in the Peloponnesus? 2. Against what states was it forced to struggle? 3. Mark on the map the different Spartan conquests referred to in the sources. 4. What was one of the most important of these? 5. Our knowledge of what happened in this early period is largely drawn from Pausanias. How do we know that what he tells us is true? 6. Have the war songs of Tyrtæus more or less value as sources than the history of Pausanias? 7. Read the songs aloud and remember that they were old-time Spartan battle songs. 8. Judging from the songs, what was the Spartan ideal? 9. Why did the Spartans fight well? 10. Was the Spartan king an important personage in this early period? Why?

b. Spartan Society

Thucydides, I, 18

1. For Lacedæmon, after the settlement of the Dorians, who now inhabit it, though torn by factions the longest time of any country that we are acquainted with, yet from the earliest period enjoyed good laws and was always free from tyrants; for it was about four hundred years or a little more, to the end of this war, that the Lacedæmonians have been in possession of the same form of government; and being for this reason powerful, they settled matters in the other states also.

Xenophon, *The Polity of the Lacedæmonians*, I, 1

2. I recall the astonishment with which I first noted the unique position of Sparta amongst the states of Hellas, the relatively sparse population, and at the same time the extraordinary powers and prestige of the community. I was puzzled to account for the fact. It was only when I came to consider the peculiar institutions of the Spartans, that my wonderment ceased. Or rather, it is transferred to the legislator who gave them those laws, obedience to which has been the secret of their prosperity. This legislator, Lycurgus, I must needs admire, and hold him to have been one of the wisest of mankind. Certainly he was no servile imitator of other states. It was by a stroke of invention rather, and on a pattern much in opposition to the commonly accepted one, that he brought his fatherland to this pinnacle of prosperity.

Plutarch, *Lives*, I, p. 66

3. There is so much uncertainty in the accounts which historians have left us of Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, that scarcely anything is asserted by one of them which is not called into question or contradicted by the rest. Their sentiments are quite different as to the family he came of, the voyages he undertook, the place and manner of his death, but most of all when they speak of the laws he made and the commonwealth which he founded. They cannot, by any means, be brought to any agreement as to the very age in which he lived; for some of them say that he flourished in the time of Iphitus, and that they two jointly contrived the ordinance for the cessation of arms during the solemnity of the Olympic games. Of this opinion was Aristotle; and for confirmation of it, he alleges an inscription upon one of the copper quoits used in those sports, upon which the name of Lycurgus continued uneffaced to his time. But Eratosthenes[1] and Apollodorus[2] and other chronolo-

[1] Eratosthenes, 272–190 B.C. Born at Cyrene, lived at Alexandria.
[2] Apollodorus, 150 B.C. An Athenian.

gers, computing the time by the successions of the Spartan kings, pretend to demonstrate that he was much more ancient than the institution of the Olympic games. Timæus [1] conjectures that there were two of this name, and in diverse times, but that the one of them being much more famous than the other, men gave to him the glory of the exploits of both; the elder of the two according to him, was not long after Homer; and some are so particular as to say that he had seen him. But that he was of great antiquity may be gathered from a passage in Xenophon, where he makes him contemporary with the Heraclidæ too; but he seems in that place to speak of the first and more immediate successors of Hercules. But notwithstanding this confusion and obscurity, we shall endeavor to compose the history of his life, adhering to those statements which are least contradicted, and depending upon those authors who are most worthy of credit.

Plutarch, *Lives*, I, pp. 71, 72

4. Amongst the many changes and alterations which Lycurgus made, the first and of greatest importance was the establishment of the senate, which having a power equal to the kings' in matters of great consequence, and, as Plato expresses it, allaying and qualifying the fiery genius of the royal office, gave steadiness and safety to the commonwealth. For the state, which before had no firm basis to stand upon, but leaned one while towards an absolute monarchy, when the kings had the upper hand, and another while towards a pure democracy, when the people had the better, found in this establishment of the senate a central weight, like ballast in a ship, which always kept things in a just equilibrium; the twenty-eight always adhering to the kings so far as to resist democracy, and on the other hand, supporting the people against the establishment of absolute monarchy. As for the determinate number of twenty-eight, Aristotle states, that it so fell out because two of the

[1] Timæus, 359–262 B.C. Born in Sicily, but lived at Athens.

original associates, for want of courage, fell off from the enterprise; but Sphærus assures us that there were but twenty-eight of the confederates at first; perhaps there is some mystery in the number which consists of seven multiplied by four, and is the first of perfect numbers after six, being, as that is, equal to all its parts. For my part, I believe Lycurgus fixed upon the number of twenty-eight, that, the two kings being reckoned amongst them, they might be thirty in all. So eagerly set was he upon this establishment, that he took the trouble to obtain an oracle about it from Delphi, the Rhetra, which runs thus: "After that you have built a temple to Jupiter Hellanius, and to Minerva Hellania, and after that you have *phyle'd* the people into *phyles*, and *obe'd* them into *obes*, you shall establish a council of thirty elders, the leaders included, and shall, from time to time, *apellazein* the people betwixt Babyca and Cnacion, there propound and put to the vote. The commons have the final voice and decision." By *phyles* and *obes* are meant the divisions of the people; by the *leaders*, the two kings; *apellazein*, referring to the Pythian Apollo, signifies to assemble; Babyca and Cnacion they now call Œnus; Aristotle says Cnacion is a river, and Babyca a bridge. Betwixt this Babyca and Cnacion, their assemblies were held, for they had no council-house or building to meet in. Lycurgus was of opinion that ornaments were so far from advantaging them in their counsels, that they were rather an hinderance, by diverting their attention from the business before them to statues and pictures, and roofs curiously fretted, the usual embellishments of such places amongst the other Greeks. The people then being thus assembled in the open air, it was not allowed to any one of their order to give his advice, but only either to ratify or reject what should be propounded to them by the king or senate. But because it fell out afterwards that the people, by adding or omitting words, distorted and perverted the sense of propositions, kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted into the Rhetra, or grand covenant, the following clause: "That if the

people decide crookedly it should be lawful for the elders and leaders to dissolve;" that is to say, refuse ratification, and dismiss the people as depravers and perverters of their counsel. It passed among the people, by their management, as being equally authentic with the rest of the Rhetra, as appears by these verses of Tyrtæus:—

> These oracles they from Apollo heard,
> And brought from Pytho home the perfect word:
> The heaven-appointed kings, who love the land,
> Shall foremost in the nation's council stand;
> The elders next to them; the commons last;
> Let a straight *Rhetra* among all be passed.

Although Lycurgus had, in this manner, used all the qualifications possible in the constitution of his commonwealth, yet those who succeeded him found the oligarchical element still too strong and dominant, and to check its high temper and its violence, put, as Plato says, a bit in its mouth, which was the power of the ephori established an hundred and thirty years after the death of Lycurgus.

Plutarch, *Lives*, I, pp. 73, 74

5. After the creation of the thirty senators, his next task, and, indeed, the most hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new division of their lands. For there was an extreme inequality amongst them, and their state was overloaded with a multitude of indigent and necessitous persons, while its whole wealth had centred upon a very few. To the end, therefore, that he might expel from the state arrogance and envy, luxury and crime, and those yet more inveterate diseases of want and superfluity, he obtained of them to renounce their properties, and to consent to a new division of the land, and that they should live all together on an equal footing; merit to be their only road to eminence, and the disgrace of evil,

and credit of worthy acts, their one measure of difference between man and man.

Upon their consent to these proposals, proceeding at once to put them into execution, he divided the country of Laconia in general into thirty thousand equal shares, and the part attached to the city of Sparta into nine thousand; these he distributed among the Spartans, as he did the others to the country citizens. Some authors say that he made but six thousand lots for the citizens of Sparta, and that king Polydorus added three thousand more. Others say that Polydorus doubled the number Lycurgus had made, which, according to them, was but four thousand five hundred. A lot was so much as to yield, one year with another, about seventy bushels of grain for the master of the family, and twelve for his wife, with a suitable proportion of oil and wine. And this he thought sufficient to keep their bodies in good health and strength; superfluities they were better without. It is reported, that, as he returned from a journey shortly after the divisions of the lands, in harvest time, the ground being newly reaped, seeing the stacks all standing equal and alike, he smiled, and said to those about him, "Methinks all Laconia looks like one family estate just divided among a number of brothers."

Herodotus, VI, 56–60

6. These are the royal rights which have been given by the Spartans to their kings, namely, two priesthoods, of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Uranios; and the right of making war against whatsoever land they please, and that no man of the Spartans shall hinder this right, or if he do, he shall be subject to the curse; and that when they go on expeditions the kings shall go out first and return last; that a hundred picked men shall be their guard upon expeditions; and that they shall use in their goings forth to war as many cattle as they desire, and take both the hides and the backs of all that are sacrificed.

These are their privileges in war; and in peace moreover things have been assigned to them as follows: if any sacrifice is performed at the public charge, it is the privilege of the kings to sit down to the feast before all others, and that the attendants shall begin with them first, and serve to each of them a portion of everything double of that which is given to the other guests, and that they shall have the first pouring of libations and the hides of the animals slain in sacrifice; that on every new moon and seventh day of the month there shall be delivered at the public charge to each one of these a full-grown victim in the temple of Apollo, and a measure of barley-groats and a Laconian "quarter" of wine; and at all the games they shall have seats of honor specially set apart for them: moreover it is their privilege to appoint as protectors of strangers whomsoever they will of the citizens, and to choose each two "pythians." Now the pythians are men sent to consult the god at Delphi, and they eat with the kings at the public charge. And if the kings do not come to the dinner, it is the rule that there shall be sent out for them to their houses two quarts of barley-groats for each one and half a pint of wine; but if they are present, double shares of everything shall be given them, and moreover they shall be honored in this same manner when they have been invited to dinner by private persons. The kings also, it is ordained, shall have charge of the oracles which are given, but the pythians also shall have knowledge of them. It is the rule moreover that the kings alone give decision on the following cases only, that is to say, about the maiden who inherits her father's property, namely who ought to have her, if her father have not betrothed her to any one, and about public ways; also if any man desires to adopt a son, he must do it in presence of the kings: and it is ordained that they shall sit in council with the senators, who are in number eight-and-twenty, and if they do not come, those of the senators who are most closely related to them shall have the privileges of the kings and give two votes besides their own, making three in all.

FIG. 6. VENUS OF MELOS

These rights have been assigned to the kings for their lifetime by the Spartan state; and after they are dead these which follow: horsemen go round and announce that which has happened throughout the whole of the Laconian land, and in the city women go about and strike upon a copper kettle. Whenever this happens so, two free persons of each household must go into mourning, a man and a woman, and for those who fail to do this great penalties are appointed. Now the custom of the Lacedæmonians about the death of their kings is the same as that of the barbarians who dwell in Asia, for most of the barbarians practise the same custom as regards the death of their kings. Whensoever a king of the Lacedæmonians is dead, then from the whole territory of Lacedæmon, not reckoning the Spartans, a certain fixed number of the "dwellers round" are compelled to go to the funeral ceremony: and when there have been gathered together of these and of the helots and of the Spartans themselves many thousands in the same place, with their women intermingled, they beat their foreheads with a good will and make lamentation without stint, saying that this one who has died last of their kings was the best of all: and whenever any of their kings has been killed in war, they prepare an image to represent him, laid upon a couch with fair coverings, and carry it out to be buried. Then after they have buried him, no assembly is held among them for ten days, nor is there any meeting for choice of magistrates, but they have mourning during these days.

In another respect too these resemble the Persians; that is to say, when the king is dead and another is appointed king, this king who is newly coming in sets free any man of the Spartans who was a debtor to the king or to the state; while among the Persians the king who comes to the throne remits to all the cities the arrears of tribute which are due.

In the following point also the Lacedæmonians resemble the Egyptians; that is to say, their heralds and flute-players and cooks

inherit the crafts of their fathers, and a flute-player is the son of a flute-player, a cook of a cook, and a herald of a herald; other men do not lay hands upon the office because they have loud and clear voices, and so shut them out of it, but they practise their craft by inheritance from their fathers.

Xenophon, *The Polity of the Lacedæmonians*, II–XIII

7. I wish now to explain the systems of education in fashion here and elsewhere. Throughout the rest of Hellas the custom on the part of those who claimed to educate their sons in the best way is as follows: As soon as the children are of an age to understand what is said to them they are immediately placed under the charge of paidagogoi (or tutors), who are also attendants, and sent off to the school of some teacher to be taught "grammar," "music," and the concerns of the palestra. Besides this they are given shoes to wear which tend to make their feet tender, and their bodies are enervated by various changes of clothing. And as for food, the only measure recognized is that which is fixed by appetite.

But when we turn to Lycurgus, instead of leaving it to each member of the state privately to appoint a slave to be his son's tutor, he set over the young Spartans a public guardian, the paidonomos or "pastor," to give him his proper title, with complete authority over them. This guardian was selected from those who filled the highest magistracies. He had authority to hold musters of the boys, and as their overseer, in case of any misbehavior, to chastise severely. The legislator further provided the pastor with a body of youths in the prime of life and bearing whips to inflict punishment when necessary, with this happy result, that in Sparta modesty and obedience ever go hand in hand, nor is there lack of either.

Instead of softening their feet with shoe or sandal, his rule was to make them hardy through going barefoot. This habit, if practised, would, as he believed, enable them to scale heights

more easily and clamber down precipices with less danger. In fact, with his feet so trained the young Spartan would leap and spring and run faster unshod than another shod in the ordinary way.

Instead of making them effeminate with a variety of clothes, his rule was to habituate them to a single garment the whole year through, thinking that so they would be better prepared to withstand the variations of heat and cold. . . .

Again, as regards food, according to his regulation, the eiren, or head of the flock, must see that his messmates gather to the club meal with such moderate food as to avoid that heaviness which is engendered by repletion and yet not to remain altogether unacquainted with the pains of penurious living. His belief was that by such training in boyhood they would be better able when occasion demanded to continue toiling on an empty stomach. They would be all the fitter, if the word of command were given, to remain on the stretch for a long time without extra dieting. The craving for luxuries would be less, the readiness to take any victuals set before them greater, and, in general, the régime would be found more healthy. Under it he thought the lads would increase in stature and shape into finer men, since, as he maintained, a dietary which gave suppleness to the limbs must be more conducive to both ends than one which added thickness to the bodily parts by feeding.

On the other hand, to guard against a too great pinch of starvation, though he did not actually allow the boys to help themselves without further trouble to what they needed more, he did give them permission to steal this thing or that in the effort to alleviate their hunger. It was not of course from any real difficulty how else to supply them with nutriment that he left it with them to provide themselves by this crafty method. Nor can I conceive that any one will so misinterpret the custom. Clearly its explanation lies in the fact, that he who would live the life of a robber must forego sleep by night, and in the daytime he must employ shifts and lie in

ambuscade; he must prepare and make ready his scouts, etc., if he is to succeed in capturing the quarry. . . .

Coming to the critical period at which a boy ceases to be a boy and becomes a youth, we find that it is just then that the rest of the world proceeds to emancipate their children from the private tutor and the schoolmaster, and, without substituting any further ruler, are content to launch them into absolute independence.

Here, again, Lycurgus took an entirely opposite view of the matter. This, if observation might be trusted, was the season when the tide of animal spirit flows fast and a froth of insolence rises to the surface; when, too, the most violent appetites for divers pleasures, in serried ranks, invade the mind. This, then, was the right moment, at which to impose tenfold labors upon the growing youth, and to devise for him a subtle system of absorbing youth, and to devise for him a subtle system of absorbing occupation. And by a crowning enactment, which said that "He who shrank from the duties imposed on him, would forfeit henceforth all claim to the glorious honors of the state," he caused, not only the public authorities, but those personally interested in the several companies of youths, to take serious pains so that no single individual of them should by an act of craven cowardice find himself utterly rejected and reprobate within the body politic.

Furthermore, in his desire firmly to implant in their youthful souls a root of modesty, he imposed upon these bigger boys a special rule. In the very streets they were to keep their two hands within the folds of their coat; they were to walk in silence and without turning their heads to gaze, now here, now there, but rather to keep their eyes fixed upon the ground before them. And hereby it would seem to be proved conclusively that, even in the matter of quiet bearing and sobriety, the masculine type may claim greater strength than that which we attribute to the nature of women. At any rate, you might sooner expect a stone image to find voice than one of those Spartan youths; to divert the eyes of

some bronze statue were less difficult. And as to quiet bearing, no bride ever stepped in bridal bower with more natural modesty. Note them when they have reached the public table. The plainest answer to the question asked, — that is all you need expect to hear from their lips. . . .

The above is a fairly exhaustive statement of the institutions traceable to the legislature of Lycurgus in connection with the successive stages of a citizen's life. It remains that I should endeavor to describe the style of living which he established for the whole body, irrespective of age. It will be understood that, when Lycurgus first came to deal with the question, the Spartans, like the rest of the Hellenes, used to mess privately at home. Tracing more than half the current misdemeanors to this custom, he was determined to drag his people out of holes and corners into the broad daylight, and so he invented the public mess-rooms. Whereby he expected at any rate to minimize the transgression of orders.

As to food, his ordinance allowed them so much as, while not inducing repletion, should guard them from actual want. And, in fact, there are many exceptional dishes in the shape of game supplied from the hunting field. Or, as a substitute for these, rich men will occasionally garnish the feast with wheaten loaves. So that from beginning to end, till the mess breaks up, the common board is never stinted for viands nor yet extravagantly furnished.

So also in the matter of drink. While putting a stop to all unnecessary potations, detrimental alike to a firm brain and a steady gait, he left them free to quench thirst when nature dictated; a method which would at once add to the pleasure whilst it diminished the danger of drinking. And indeed one may fairly ask how, on such a system of common meals, it would be possible for any one to ruin either himself or his family through either gluttony or wine-bibbing.

This, too, must be borne in mind, that in other states equals in

age, for the most part, associate together, and such an atmosphere is little conducive to modesty. Whereas in Sparta, Lycurgus was careful so to blend the ages that the younger men must benefit largely by the experience of the elders. . . . Amongst other good results obtained through this outdoor system of meals may be mentioned these: There is the necessity of walking home when a meal is over, and a consequent anxiety not to be caught tripping under the influence of wine, since they all know of course that the supper table must be presently abandoned and that they must move as freely in the dark as in the day, even the help of a torch to guide the steps being forbidden to all on active service.

At any rate, it would be hard to discover a healthier or more completely developed human being, physically speaking, than the Spartan. Their gymnastic training, in fact, makes demands alike on the legs and arms and neck, et cetera, simultaneously. . .

The following, too, may well excite our admiration for Lycurgus. I speak of the consummate skill with which he induced the whole state of Sparta to regard an honorable death as preferable to an ignoble life. And indeed, if any one will investigate the matter, he will find that by comparison with those who make it a principle to retreat in face of danger, actually fewer of these Spartans die in battle since, to speak truth, salvation, it would seem, attends on virtue far more frequently than on cowardice. . . .

Yet the actual means by which he gave currency to these principles is a point which it were well not to overlook. It is clear that the lawgiver set himself deliberately to provide all the blessings of heaven for the good man, and a sorry and ill-starred existence for the coward.

In other states the man who shows himself base and cowardly, wins to himself an evil reputation and the nickname of a coward, but that is all. For the rest he buys and sells in the same marketplace with a good man; he sits beside him at the play; he exercises

with him in the same gymnasium; and all as suits his humor. But at Lacedæmon there is not one man who would not feel ashamed to welcome the coward at the common mess-tables or to try conclusions with such an antagonist in a wrestling bout. Consider the day's round of his existence. The sides are being picked out in a foot-ball match, but he is left out as the odd man; there is no place for him. During the choric dance he is driven away into ignominious quarters. Nay, in the very streets, it is he who must step aside for others to pass, or, being seated, he must rise and make room, even for a younger man. At home he will have his maiden relatives to support in their isolation (and they will hold him to blame for their unwedded lives). A hearth with no wife to bless it — that is the condition he must face — and yet he will have to pay damages to the last farthing for incurring it. Let him not roam abroad with a smooth and smiling countenance; let him not imitate men whose fame is irreproachable, or he shall feel on his back the blows of his superiors; such being the weight of infamy which is laid upon all cowards, I, for my part, am not surprised, if in Sparta they deem death preferable to a life so steeped in dishonor and reproach.

That, too, was a happy enactment, in my opinion, by which Lycurgus provided for the continual cultivation of virtues, even to old age. By fixing the election to the council of elders as a last ordeal at the goal of life, he made it impossible for a high standard of virtuous living to be disregarded even in old age. (So, too, it is worthy of admiration in him that he lent his helping hand to a virtuous old age. Thus, by making the elders sole arbiters in the trial for life, he contrived to charge old age with a greater weight of honor than that which is accorded to the strength of mature manhood.) And assuredly such a contest as this must appeal to the zeal of mortal man beyond all others in a supreme degree. Fair, doubtless, are contests of gymnastic skill, yet are they trials of but bodily excellence, but this contest for the seniory is of a higher sort —

it is an ordeal of the soul itself. In proportion, therefore, as the soul is worthier than the body, so must these contests of the soul appeal to a stronger enthusiasm than their bodily antitypes.

And yet another point may well excite our admiration for Lycurgus largely. It had not escaped his observation that communities exist where those who are willing to make virtue their study and delight fail somehow in ability to add to the glory of the fatherland. That lesson the legislator laid to heart, and in Sparta he enforced, as a matter of public duty, the practice of every virtue by every citizen. And so it is that, just as man differs from man in some excellence, according as he cultivates or neglects to cultivate it, this city of Sparta, with good reason, outshines all other states in virtue; since she, and she alone, has made the attainment of a high standard of noble living a public duty.

And was not this a noble enactment, that whereas other states are content to inflict punishment only in cases where a man does wrong against his neighbor, Lycurgus imposed penalties no less severe on him who openly neglected to make himself as good as possible? For this, it seems, was his principle: in the one case, where a man is robbed, or defrauded, or kidnapped, and made a slave of, the injury of the misdeed, whatever it be, is personal to the individual so maltreated; but in the other case, whole communities suffer foul treason at the hands of a base man and the coward. So that it was only reasonable, in my opinion, that he should visit the heaviest penalty upon these latter.

Moreover, he laid upon them, like some irresistible necessity, the obligation to cultivate the whole virtue of a citizen. Provided they duly perform the injunctions of the law, the city belonged to them each and all, in absolute possession, and on an equal footing. Weakness of limb or want of health was no drawback in his eyes. But as for him who, out of the cowardice of his heart, shrank from the painful performance of the law's injunction, the finger of the

legislator pointed him out as there and then disqualified to be regarded longer as a member of the brotherhood of peers.

It may be added, that there is no doubt as to the great antiquity of this code of laws. . . . But being of so long standing, these laws, even at this day, still are stamped in the eyes of other men with all of the novelty of youth. And the most marvellous thing of all is that, while everybody is agreed to praise these remarkable institutions, there is not a single state which cares to imitate them.

The above form a common stock of blessings, open to every Spartan to enjoy, alike in peace and in war. But if any one desires to be informed in what way the legislator improved upon the ordinary machinery of warfare and in reference to an army in the field, it is easy to satisfy his curiosity.

In the first instance, the ephors announce in proclamation the limit of age to which the service applies for cavalry and heavy infantry; and in the next place, for the various handicraft men So that, even on active service, the Lacedæmonians are well supplied with all the conveniences enjoyed by people living as citizens at home. All the implements and instruments whatsoever, which an army may need in common, are ordered to be in readiness, some on wagons and others on baggage animals. In this way anything omitted can hardly escape detection.

For the actual encounter under arms, the following inventions are attributed to him: The soldier has a crimson-colored uniform and a heavy shield of bronze; his theory being that such an equipment has no sort of feminine association, and is altogether most warrior-like. It is most quickly burnished; it is least readily soiled.

He further permitted those who were about the age of early manhood to wear their hair long. For so, he conceived, they would appear of larger stature, more free and indomitable, and of a more terrible aspect.

So furnished and accoutred, he divided his citizen soldiers into

six morai (or regimental divisions) of cavalry and heavy infantry. Each of these citizen regiments (political divisions) has one polemarch (or colonel), four lochagoi (or captains of companies), eight penteconters (or lieutenants, each in command of a half company), and sixteen enomotarchs (or commanders of sections). At a word of command any such regimental division can be formed readily either into enomoties (*i.e.* single file), or into threes (*i.e.* three files abreast), or into sixes (*i.e.* six files abreast).

As to the idea, commonly entertained, that the tactical arrangement of the Laconian heavy infantry is highly complicated, no conception could be more opposed to facts. For in the Laconian order the front rank men are all leaders, so that each file has everything necessary to play its part efficiently. In fact, this disposition is so easy to understand that no one who can distinguish one human being from another can fail to follow it. One set have the privilege of leaders, the other the duty of followers. The evolutional orders by which greater depth or shallowness is given to the battle line are given by word of mouth, by the enomotarch (or commander of the section), and they cannot be mistaken. None of these manœuvres presents any difficulty whatsoever to the understanding.

I will now speak of the mode of encampment, sanctioned by the regulation of Lycurgus. To avoid the waste incidental to the angles of the square, the encampment, according to him, should be circular, except where there was the security of a hill or fortification, or where they had a river in the rear. He had sentinels posted during the day along the place of arms and facing inwards; since they are appointed not so much for the sake of the enemy as to keep an eye on friends. The enemy is sufficiently watched by mounted troopers perched on various points commanding the widest prospects.

To guard against hostile approach by night, sentinel duty according to the ordinance was performed by the sciritæ outside the main body. At the present time the rule is so far modified that the

duty is intrusted to foreigners, if there be a foreign contingent present, with a leaven of Spartans to keep them company.

The custom of always taking their spears with them when they go their rounds must certainly be attributed to the same cause which makes them exclude their slaves from a place of arms. . . . The need of precaution is the whole explanation.

The frequency with which they change their encampment is another point. It is done quite as much for the sake of benefiting their friends as annoying their enemies.

Further, the law enjoins upon all Lacedæmonians, during the whole period of an expedition, the constant practice of gymnastic exercises, whereby their pride in themselves is increased, and they appear freer and of a more liberal aspect than the rest of the world. The walk and the running grounds must not exceed in length the space covered by a regimental division, so that one may not find himself far from his own stand of arms. After the gymnastic exercises, the senior polemarch gives the order (by herald) to be seated. This serves all the purposes of an inspection. After this the order is given "To get breakfast," and for "The outpost to be relieved." After this, again, come pastimes and relaxations before the evening exercises, after which the herald's cry is heard "To take the evening meal." When they have sung a hymn to the gods to whom the offerings of happy omen have been performed, the final order, "Retire to rest at the place of arms," is given.

I wish to explain with sufficient detail the nature of the covenant between king and state as instituted by Lycurgus; for this, I take it, is the sole type of rule which still preserves the original form in which it was first established; whereas other constitutions will be found either to have been already modified or else to be still undergoing modification at this moment.

Lycurgus laid it down as law that the king shall offer on behalf of the state all public sacrifices, as being himself of divine descent,

and whithersoever the state shall despatch her armies the king shall take the lead. He granted him to receive honorary gifts of the things offered in sacrifice, and he appointed him choice land in many of the provincial cities, enough to satisfy moderate needs without excess of wealth. And in order that the kings might also encamp and mess in public he appointed them public quarters, and he honored them with a double portion each at the evening meal, not in order that they might actually eat twice as much as others, but that the king might have wherewithal to honor whomsoever he desires. He also granted as a gift to each of the two kings to choose two mess-fellows, which same are called tuthioi. He also granted them to receive out of every litter of swine one pig, so that the king might never be at a loss for victims if in aught he wished to consult the gods.

Close by the palace a lake affords an unrestricted supply of water; and how useful that is for various purposes they best can tell who lack the luxury. Moreover, all rise from their seats to give place to the king save only that the ephors rise not from their throne of office. Monthly they exchange oaths, the ephors in behalf of the state, the king himself in his own behalf. And this is the oath on the king's part: "I will exercise my kingship in accordance with the established laws of the state." And on the part of the state the oath runs: "So long as he (who exercises kingship) shall abide by his oath we will not suffer his kingdom to be shaken."

QUESTIONS

1. From what writers are the descriptions of the Spartan customs taken? 2. Which of these appears to you to be the most reliable and why? 3. Did any of them have first-hand information about Lycurgus and the origin of the Spartan constitution? 4. Why should we feel sure that a man called Washington once lived and helped to make a constitution, but doubt the existence of Lycurgus? 5. Where did Plutarch gain his knowledge about Lycurgus? 6. Where did the people from

whom he borrowed obtain their information? 7. Must we believe that there was a Lycurgus because men living 400 B.C. said so? 8. What is the value of the evidence of the quoit cited by Aristotle? 9. If Lycurgus had lived "not long after Homer," what would the date have been? 10. If he had been "contemporary with the Heraclidæ" (successors of Heracles), when would he have lived? 11. Did either Plutarch or the writers cited by him seem to understand clearly what historical *proof* means? 12. Can we doubt the truth of what these writers say about Lycurgus and the *origin* of the Spartan state, and yet accept what they tell us about the *character* of the constitution and about Spartan *manners* and *customs?* Why? 13. To what was the Spartan supremacy in the Peloponnesus attributed in the time of Thucydides? 14. Make an outline of the Spartan government. 15. Do we know how and when it came into existence? 16. Why do we not know more about it? 17. Enumerate the privileges of the Spartan king in peace and in war, using both Herodotus and Xenophon. 18. What was the end of Spartan education? 19. Compare it with the end of education in this country to-day. 20. To what is the difference due? 21. Show how the methods employed by the Spartans attained the educational end they had in view. 22. What were the good features of the training of the children? 23. What were the "public mess-rooms" and what were the benefits that the Spartans derived from them? 24. Why was there so little cowardice among the Spartans? Use Xenophon and the songs of Tyrtæus. 25. What inducement did Spartan society offer to its members to practise virtue to a ripe old age? 26. What kind of a life was expected from every Spartan? 27. Describe the organization, equipment, and evolutions of the Spartan army. 28. Compare the encampment of the Spartan army with that of a modern army.

B. The Development of the Athenian Constitution

a. Unification of Attica

Thucydides, II, 15

1. In the days of Cecrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Attica was divided into communes, having their own town halls and magistrates. Except in case of alarm

the whole people did not assemble in council under the king, but administered their own affairs, and advised together in their several townships. Some of them at times even went to war with him, as the Eleusinians under Eumolpus with Erectheus. But when Theseus came to the throne, he, being a powerful as well as a wise ruler, among other improvements in the administration of the country, dissolved the councils and separate governments, and united all the inhabitants of Attica in the present city, establishing one council and town hall. They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforward they were all inscribed in the roll of her citizens. A great city thus arose which was handed down by Theseus to his descendants, and from his day to this the Athenians have regularly celebrated the national festival of the Synœcia, or "union of the communes," in honor of the goddess Athena.

QUESTIONS

1. How did Athens absorb Attica? 2. What was the difference in the relations between Athens and the other towns of Attica before and after the union? 3. Do we know when the union took place? 4. Were there any natural reasons why Athens should become the centre of Attica? 5. Can we doubt the existence of Cecrops and Theseus and still believe that the union of the towns of Attica took place at some early date?

b. The Athenian Constitution before Draco

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Chs. 2–3

1. Not only was the constitution at this time oligarchical in every respect, but the poorer classes, men, women, and children, were in absolute slavery to the rich. They were known as pelatæ and also as hectemori, because they cultivated the lands of the rich for a sixth part of the produce. The whole country was in the hands of a few persons, and if the tenants failed to pay their rent, they were liable to be haled into slavery and their children with

them. Their persons were mortgaged to their creditors, a custom which prevailed until the time of Solon, who was the first to appear as a leader of the people. But the hardest and bitterest part of the condition of the masses was the fact that they had no share in the offices then existing under the constitution. At the same time they were discontented with every other feature of their lot; for, to speak generally, they had no part nor share in anything.

Now the ancient constitution, as it existed before the time of Draco, was organized as follows: The magistrates were elected according to qualifications of birth and wealth. At first they governed for life, but subsequently for terms of ten years. The first magistrates, both in date and importance, were the king, the polemarch (commander in war), and the archon. The earliest of these offices was that of king, which existed from the very beginning. To this was added, secondly, the office of polemarch, on account of some of the kings being feeble in war. . . . The last of these three offices was that of the archon, . . . but that it was the last of these magistracies to be created is shown by the fact that the archon has no part in the ancestral sacrifices, as the king and the polemarch have, but only in those of later origin. So it is only at a comparatively late date that the office of archon has become of great importance, by successive accretions of power. The thesmothetæ were appointed many years afterwards, when these offices had already become annual; and the object of their creation was that they might record in writing all legal decisions and act as guardians of them with a view to executing judgment upon transgressors of the law. Accordingly their office, alone of those which have been mentioned, was never of more than annual duration.

So far, then, do these magistrates precede all others in point of date. At that time the nine archons did not all live together. The king occupied the building now known as the Bucolium, near the Prytaneum, as may be seen from the fact that even to the pres-

ent day the marriage of the king's wife to Dionysus takes place there. The archon lived in the Prytaneum, the polemarch in the Epilyceum. . . .

Such, then, was the arrangement of the magistracies. The council of areopagus had as its constitutionally assigned duty the protection of the laws; but in point of fact it administered the greater and most important part of the government of the state, and inflicted personal punishments and fines summarily upon all who misbehaved themselves. This was the natural consequence of the facts that the archons were elected under qualifications of birth and wealth, and that the areopagus was composed of those who had served as archons; for which latter reason the membership of the areopagus is the only office which has continued to be a life-magistracy to the present day.

QUESTIONS

1. What, according to Aristotle, were the two bad features of Athenian society before the time of Draco? 2. Who were the principal officers and what were their duties under the early constitutions? 3. How did a man secure office? 4. Who had a right to hold office? 5. How long was the term of office? 6. Compare this government with that found in the *Iliad* and note the difference. 7. What was the most important body in this government and why?

c. Changes made by Draco in the Constitution

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Ch. 4

1. Such was, in outline, the first constitution; but not very long after the events above recorded, in the archonship of Aristaichmes, Draco drew up his legislation. The organization he established had the following form. The franchise was given to all who could furnish themselves with a military equipment. The nine archons and the treasurers were elected by this body from persons possessing an unencumbered property of not less than ten

minas, the less important officials from those who could furnish themselves with a military equipment, and the generals (strategi) and commanders of the cavalry (hipparchi) from those who could show an unencumbered property of not less than a hundred minas, and had children born in lawful wedlock over ten years of age. This qualification was to apply to the prytanes, the strategi, and the hipparchi. . . . There was also to be a council, consisting of four hundred and one members, elected by lot from among those who possessed the franchise. Both for this and for the other magistracies the lot was cast among those who were over thirty years of age; and no one might hold office twice until every one else had had his turn, after which they were to cast the lot afresh. If any member of the council failed to attend when there was a sitting of the council or of the assembly, he paid a fine, to the amount of three drachmas, if he was a pentacosiomedimnus, two if he was a knight, and one if he was a zeugites. The council of areopagus was guardian of the laws, and kept watch over the magistrates to see that they executed their offices in accordance with the laws. Any person who felt himself wronged might lay an information before the council of areopagus, on declaring what law was broken by the wrong done to him. But, as has been said before, the persons of the people were mortgaged to their creditors, and the land was in the hands of a few.

QUESTIONS

1. Make a list of the constitutional changes introduced by Draco. 2. What bodies, officers, or classes gained or lost power by these changes?

d. Reformation of the Government and Society by Solon

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Chs. 5–8

1. Now seeing that such was the organization of the constitution, and that the many were in slavery to the few, the people

rose against the upper class. The strife was keen, and for a long time the two parties were face to face with one another, till at last, by common consent, they appointed Solon to be mediator and archon, and committed the whole constitution to his hands. . . . By birth and reputation Solon was one of the foremost men of the day, but in wealth and position he was of the middle class, as is manifest from many circumstances, and especially from his own evidence in these poems, where he exhorts the wealthy not to be grasping.

> But ye who have store of good, who are sated and overflow,
> Restrain your swelling soul, and still it and keep it low:
> Let the heart that is great within you be trained a lowlier way;
> Ye shall not have all at your will, and we will not forever obey.

Indeed, he constantly ascribes the origin of the conflict to the rich; and accordingly at the beginning of the poem he says that he fears "the love of wealth and an overweening mind," evidently meaning that it was through these that the quarrel arose.

As soon as he was at the head of affairs, Solon liberated the people once and for all, by prohibiting all loans on the security of the person of the debtor: and at the same time he made laws by which he cancelled all debts, public and private. This measure is commonly called the seisachtheia (=removal of burdens), since thereby the people had their loads removed from them. . . .

Next Solon drew up a constitution and enacted new laws, and the statutes of Draco ceased to be used with the exception of those relating to murder. The laws were inscribed on the pillars, and set up in the King's Porch, and all swore to obey them; and the nine archons made oath upon the stone and declared that they would dedicate a golden statue if they should transgress any of them. This is the origin of the oath to that effect which they take to the present day. Solon ratified his laws for a hundred years, and the following was the fashion of his organization of the con-

stitution. He made a division of all rateable property into four classes, just as it had been divided before, namely, pentacosiomedimni, knights, zeugitæ, and thetes. The various magistracies, namely, the nine archons, the treasurers, the commissioners for public contracts (poletæ), the eleven, and the exchequer clerks (colacretæ), he assigned to the pentacosiomedimni, the knights, and the zeugitæ, giving offices to each class in proportion to the value of their rateable property. To those who ranked among the thetes he gave nothing but a place in the assembly and in the juries. A man had to rank as a pentacosiomedimnus if he made, from his own land, five hundred measures, whether liquid or solid. Those ranked as knights who made three hundred measures, or, as some say, those who were able to maintain a horse. . . . Those ranked as zeugitæ who made two hundred measures, liquid or solid; and the rest ranked as thetes, and were not eligible for any office. Hence it is that even at the present day, when a candidate for any office is asked to what rank he belongs, no one would think of saying that he belonged to the thetes.

The elections to the various offices Solon enacted should be by lot, out of candidates selected by each of the tribes. Each tribe selected ten candidates for the nine archonships, and among these the lot was cast. Hence it is still the custom for each tribe to choose ten candidates by lot, and then the lot is again cast among these. . . . Such was Solon's legislation with respect to the nine archons; whereas in early times the council of areopagus summoned suitable persons according to its own judgment and appointed them for the year to the several offices. There were four tribes, as before, and four tribe-kings. Each tribe was divided into three trittyes (=thirds), with twelve naucraries in each; and the naucraries had officers of their own, called naucrari, whose duty it was to superintend the current receipts and expenditure. Hence among the laws of Solon now (as is natural) obsolete, it is written that the naucrari are to receive and spend out of the

naucraric fund. Solon also appointed a council of four hundred, a hundred from each tribe; but he still assigned to the areopagus the duty of superintending the laws. It continued, as before, to be the guardian of the constitution in general; it kept watch over the citizens in all the most important matters, and corrected offenders, having full powers to inflict either fines or personal punishment. The money received in fines it brought up into the acropolis without assigning the reason for the punishment; and Solon also gave it the power to try those who conspired for the overthrow of the state. Such were Solon's regulations concerning the areopagus. Further, since he saw the state often engaged in internal disputes, while many of the citizens from sheer indifference waited to see what would turn up, he made a law with express reference to such persons, enacting that any one who, in a time of civil factions, did not take up arms with either party, should lose his rights as a citizen and cease to have any part in the state.

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Ch. 12

2. The truth of this view of Solon's policy is established alike by the common consent of all, and by the mention which he has himself made of it in his poems. Thus: —

I gave to the mass of the people such rank as befitted their need.
I took not away their honor, and I granted naught to their greed;
But those who were rich in power, who in wealth were glorious and great,
I bethought me that naught should befall them unworthy their splendor and state;
And I stood with my shield outstretched, and both were safe in its sight,
And I would not that either should triumph, when the triumph was not with right.

Again he declares how the mass of the people ought to to be treated: —

But thus will the people best the voice of their leaders obey,
When neither too slack is the rein, nor violence holdeth the sway;
For satiety breedeth a child, the presumption that spurns control,
When riches too great are poured upon men of unbalanced soul.

And again elsewhere he speaks about the persons who wished to redistribute the land: —

So they came in search of plunder, and their cravings knew no bound,
Every one among them deeming endless wealth would here be found,
And that I with glozing smoothness hid a cruel mind within.
Fondly then and vainly dreamt they; now they raise an angry din,
And they glare askance in anger, and the light within their eyes
Burns with hostile flames upon me. Yet therein no justice lies.
All I promised, fully wrought I with the gods at hand to cheer,
Naught beyond of folly ventured. Never to my soul was dear
With a tyrant's force to govern, nor to see the good and base
Side by side in equal portion share the rich home of our race.

Once more he speaks of the destitution of the poorer classes and of those who before were in servitude, but were released owing to the seisachtheia: —

Wherefore I freed the racked and tortured crowd
From all the evils that beset their lot.
Thou, when slow time brings justice in its train,
O mighty mother of the Olympian gods,
Dark Earth, thou best canst witness, from whose breast
I swept the pillars broadcast planted there,
And made thee free, who hadst been slave of yore.
And many a man whom fraud or law had sold
Far from his god-built land, an outcast slave,
I brought again to Athens; yea, and some,
Exiles from home through debt's oppressive load,
Speaking no more the dear Athenian tongue,
But wandering far and wide, I brought again;

And those that here in vilest slavery
Crouched 'neath a master's frown, I set them free.
Thus might and right were yoked in harmony.
Since by the force of law I won my ends
And kept my promise. Equal laws I gave
To evil and to good, with even hand
Drawing straight justice for the lot of each.
But had another held the goad as I,
One in whose heart was guile and greediness,
He had not kept the people back from strife.
For had I granted, now what pleased the one,
Then what their foes devised within their hearts,
Of many a man this state had been bereft.
Therefore I took me strength from every side
And turned at bay like wolf among the hounds.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the conditions in Athens that led to the selection of Solon as lawgiver? 2. What policy did he follow in his attempt to bring peace to Athens? 3. What changes did he make and why did he make them? 4. What classes would be pleased and what displeased by such changes? 5. How were the people to be sure what the new laws were? 6. How were the laws to be enforced? 7. How did Aristotle know what Solon did? 8. When we have the very statements of Solon in his poems, can we feel certain that he is telling the truth? 9. Is the value of what Solon says lessened by the form in which he says it? 10. Read the poems of Solon aloud. Compare them with the war songs of Tyrtæus.

e. The Tyranny of Pisistratus and of His Sons

Herodotus, I, 59–64

1. Pisistratus, who, when the Athenians of the shore were at feud with those of the plain, Megacles the son of Alcmaion being leader of the first faction, and Lycurgos the son of Aristolaides of

that of the plain, aimed at the despotism for himself and gathered a third party. So then, after having collected supporters and called himself leader of the men of the mountain-lands, he contrived a device as follows: he inflicted wounds upon himself and upon his mules, and then drove his car into the market-place, as if he had just escaped from his opponents, who, as he alleged, had desired to kill him when he was driving into the country: and he asked the commons that he might obtain some protection from them, for before this he had gained reputation in his command against the Megarians, during which he took Nisaia and performed other signal service. And the commons of the Athenians being deceived gave him those men chosen from the dwellers in the city who became not indeed the spear-men of Pisistratus but his club-men; for they followed behind him bearing wooden clubs, and these made insurrection with Pisistratus and obtained possession of the acropolis. Then Pisistratus was ruler of the Athenians, not having disturbed the existing magistrates nor changed the ancient laws; but he administered the state under that constitution of things which was already established, ordering it fairly and well.

However, no long time after this the followers of Megacles and those of Lycurgos joined together and drove him forth. Thus Pisistratus had obtained possession of Athens for the first time, and thus he lost the power before he had it very firmly rooted. But those who had driven out Pisistratus became afterwards at feud with one another again. And Megacles, harassed by the party strife, sent a message to Pisistratus asking whether he was willing to have his daughter to wife on condition of becoming despot. And Pisistratus having accepted the proposal and made an agreement on these terms, they contrived with a view to his return a device the most simple by far, as I think, that ever was practised, considering at least that it was devised at a time when the Hellenic race had been long marked off from the barbarian as more

skilful and further removed from foolish simplicity, and among the Athenians who are accounted the first of the Hellenes in ability. In the deme of Paiania there was a woman whose name was Phya, in height four cubits all but three fingers, and also fair of form. This woman they dressed in full armor and caused her to ascend a chariot and showed her the bearing in which she might best beseem her part, and so they drove to the city, having sent on heralds to run before them, who, when they arrived at the city, spoke that which had been commanded them, saying as follows: "O Athenians, receive with favor Pisistratus, whom Athena herself, honoring him most of all men, brings back to her Acropolis." So the heralds went about hither and thither saying this, and straightway there came to the demes in the country round a report that Athena was bringing Pisistratus back, while at the same time the men of the city, persuaded that the woman was the very goddess herself, were paying worship of the human creature and receiving Pisistratus. So having received back the despotism in the manner which has been said, Pisistratus according to the agreement made with Megacles married the daughter of Megacles; . . . He then was very indignant that he should be dishonored by Pisistratus; and in his anger straightway he proceeded to compose his quarrel with the men of his faction. And when Pisistratus heard of that which was being done against himself, he departed wholly from the land and came to Eretria, where he took counsel together with his sons: and the advice of Hippias having prevailed, that they should endeavor to win back the despotism, they began to gather gifts of money from those states which owed them obligation for favors received: and many contributed great sums, but the Thebans surpassed the rest in the giving of money. Then, not to make the story long, time elapsed and at last everything was prepared for their return. For certain Argives came as mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and a man of Naxos had come to them of his own motion, whose name was Lygdamis, and showed very great zeal in providing both money and men.

Fig. 7. The Acropolis of Athens

So starting from Eretria after the lapse of ten years they returned back; and in Attica the first place of which they took possession was Marathon. While they were encamping here, their partisans from the city came to them, and also others flowed in from the various demes, to whom despotic rule was more welcome than freedom. So these were gathering themselves together; but the Athenians in the city, so long as Pisistratus was collecting the money, and afterwards when he took possession of Marathon, made no account of it; but when they heard that he was marching from Marathon towards the city, then they went to the rescue against him. These then were going in full force to fight against the returning exiles, and the forces of Pisistratus, as they went towards the city starting from Marathon, met them just when they came to the temple of Athena Pallenis, and there encamped opposite to them. Then moved by divine guidance there came into the presence of Pisistratus Amphilytos the Acarnanian, a soothsayer, who approaching him uttered an oracle in hexameter verse, saying thus:—

"But now the cast hath been made and the net hath been widely extended,
And in the night the tunnies will dart through the moon-lighted waters."

This oracle he uttered to him being divinely inspired, and Pisistratus, having understood the oracle and having said that he accepted the prophecy which was uttered, led his army against the enemy. Now the Athenians from the city were just at that time occupied with the morning meal, and some of them after their meal with games of dice or with sleep; and the forces of Pisistratus fell upon the Athenians and put them to flight. Then as they fled, Pisistratus devised a very skilful counsel, to the end that the Athenians might not gather again into one body but might remain scattered abroad. He mounted his sons on horseback

and sent them before him; and overtaking the fugitives they said that which was commanded them by Pisistratus, bidding them be of good cheer and that each man should depart to his own home.

Thus then the Athenians did, and so Pisistratus for the third time obtained possession of Athens, and he firmly rooted his despotism by many foreign mercenaries and by much revenue of money, coming partly from the land itself and partly from about the river Strymon, and also by taking as hostages the sons of those Athenians who had remained in the land and had not at once fled, and placing them in the island of Naxos; for this also Pisistratus conquered by war and delivered into the charge of Lygdamis.

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Ch. 14

2. Pisistratus had the reputation of being an extreme democrat, and he also had distinguished himself greatly in the war with Megara. Taking advantage of this, he wounded himself, and by representing that his injuries had been inflicted on him by his political rivals, he persuaded the people, through a motion proposed by Aristion, to grant him a body-guard. After he had got these "club-bearers," as they were called, he made an attack with them on the people and seized the Acropolis. This happened in the archonship of Comeas, thirty-one years after the legislation of Solon. It is related that, when Pisistratus asked for his body-guard, Solon opposed the request, and declared that in so doing he proved himself wiser than half the people and braver than the rest, — wiser than those who did not see that Pisistratus designed to make himself tyrant, and braver than those who saw it and kept silence. But when all his words availed nothing he carried forth his armor and set it up in front of his house, saying that he had helped his country so far as lay in his power (he was already a very old man), and that he called on all others to do the same. Solon's exhortations, however, proved fruitless, and Pisistratus assumed the sovereignty. His administration was far more like a consti-

tutional government than the rule of a tyrant; but before his power was firmly established, the adherents of Megacles and Lycurgus made a coalition and drove him out. This took place in the archonship of Hegesias, five years after the first establishment of his rule. Eleven years later Megacles, being in difficulties in a party struggle, again opened negotiations with Pisistratus, proposing that the latter should marry his daughter; and on these terms he brought him back to Athens, by a very primitive and simple-minded device. He first spread abroad a rumor that Athena was bringing back Pisistratus, and then, having found a woman of great stature and beauty, named Phye (according to Herodotus, of the deme of Pæania, but as others say a Thracian flower-seller of the deme of Collyttus), he dressed her in garb resembling that of the goddess and brought her into the city with Pisistratus. The latter drove in on a chariot with the woman beside him, and the inhabitants of the city, struck with awe, received him with adoration.

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Ch. 15

3. In this manner did his first return take place. He did not, however, hold his power long, for about six years after his return he was again expelled. He refused to treat the daughter of Megacles as his wife, and being afraid, in consequence, of a combination of the two opposing parties, he retired from the country. First he led a colony to a place called Rhaicelus, in the region of the Thermaic gulf; and thence he passed to the country in the neighborhood of Mt. Pangæus. Here he acquired wealth and hired mercenaries; and not till ten years had elapsed did he descend on Eretria and make an attempt to recover the government by force. In this he had the assistance of many allies, notably the Thebans and Lygdamis of Naxos, and also the knights who held the supreme power in the constitution of Eretria. After his victory in the battle at Pallene he recovered the sovereignty, and

when he had disarmed the people he at last established his tyranny securely, and was able to proceed to Naxos and set up Lygdamis as ruler there.

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Chs. 17–20

4. Thus did Pisistratus grow old in the possession of power, and he died a natural death in the archonship of Philoneos, three and thirty years from the time at which he first established himself as tyrant, during nineteen of which he was in the possession of power; the rest he spent in exile. . . . After the death of Pisistratus his sons took up the government, and conducted it on the same system. . . .

Hippias and Hipparchus assumed the control of affairs on grounds alike of standing and of age; but Hippias, as being the elder and being also naturally of a statesmanlike and shrewd disposition, was really the head of the government. Hipparchus was youthful in disposition, amorous, and fond of literature, and it was he who invited to Athens Anacreon, Simonides, and the other poets. . . .

After this event the tyranny became much harsher. In consequence of his venegance for his brother, and of the execution and banishment of a large number of persons, Hippias became a distrustful and an embittered man. About three years after the death of Hipparchus, finding his position in the city insecure, he set about fortifying Munychia, with the intention of removing thither. While he was still engaged on this work, however, he was expelled by Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon, in consequence of the Spartans being continually warned by oracles to overthrow the tyranny. . . . Accordingly they first sent Anchimolus by sea at the head of an army; but he was defeated and killed, through the arrival of Cineas of Thessaly to support the sons of Pisistratus with a force of a thousand horsemen. Then, being roused to anger by this disaster, they sent their king, Cleomenes, by land at the

head of a larger force; and he, after defeating the Thessalian cavalry when they attempted to intercept his march into Attica, shut up Hippias within what was known as the Pelargic wall and blockaded him there with the assistance of the Athenians. While he was sitting down before the place, it so happened that the sons of the Pisistratidæ were captured in an attempt to make their escape from the country; upon which the tyrants capitulated on condition of the safety of their children, and surrendered the Acropolis to the Athenians, five days being first allowed them to remove their effects. This took place in the archonship of Harpactides, after they had held the tyranny for about seventeen years since their father's death, or in all, including the period of their father's rule, for nine and forty years.

After the overthrow of the tyranny, the rival leaders in the state were Isagoras son of Tisander, a partisan of the tyrants, and Cleisthenes, who belonged to the family of the Alcmeonidæ. Cleisthenes, being beaten in the political clubs, attracted the people to his side by giving the franchise to the masses. Thereupon Isagoras, finding himself left inferior in power, invited Cleomenes, who was united to him by ties of hospitality, to return to Athens, and persuaded him to "drive out the pollution," a plea derived from the fact that the Alcmeonidæ were supposed to be under the curse of pollution. On this, Cleisthenes, with a few of his adherents, retired from the country, and Cleomenes expelled, as polluted, seven hundred Athenian families. Having effected this, he next attempted to dissolve the council, and to set up Isagoras and three hundred of his partisans as the supreme power in the state. The council, however, resisted, the populace flocked together, and Cleomenes and Isagoras, with their adherents, took refuge in the Acropolis. Here the people sat down and besieged them for two days; and on the third they agreed to let Cleomenes and all his followers depart, while they sent to summon Cleisthenes and the other exiles back to Athens. When the people had thus

obtained the command of affairs, Cleisthenes was their chief and the leader of the people.

QUESTIONS

1. What conditions in Athens made it possible for Pisistratus to obtain control of the government? 2. How could he govern without changing the constitution or the laws? 3. Can it be done to-day in our own country? 4. If Pisistratus ordered the government "fairly and well," why did the Greeks call him a tyrant? 5. How did he lose control of the government the first time? 6. Do you believe the story of the way in which he came back? 7. What more probable explanation can you find in the sources? 8. How did Pisistratus lose control of the government the second time? 9. How did he recover it again? 10. Was his position after the second return stronger than before? 11. Was it more unconstitutional? 12. Use both Aristotle and Herodotus in answering the above questions, noting when they agree and when they disagree and what statements are found in one and not in the other. Are they entirely independent of one another? 13. Does the same statement found in both prove that the thing actually happened? Did Herodotus see these things himself? Did Aristotle? 14. Does the long control of the government by Pisistratus prove that he ruled well? Give illustration from our own government. 15. How could the sons of Pisistratus succeed him when offices were not hereditary in Athens? 16. Why and how was the son of Pisistratus expelled from Athens? 17. After his expulsion, what was the character of the struggle in Athens? 18. What really decided what party should triumph?

f. The Reforms of Cleisthenes

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Chs. 21–22

1. The people, therefore, had good reason to place confidence in Cleisthenes. Accordingly when, at this time, he found himself at the head of the masses, three years after the expulsion of the tyrants, in the archonship of Isagoras, his first step was to distribute the whole population into ten tribes in place of the existing

four, with the object of intermixing the members of the different tribes, so that more persons might have a share in the franchise. From this arose the saying "do not look at the tribes," addressed to those who wished to scrutinize the lists of the clans. Next he made the council to consist of five hundred members instead of four hundred, each tribe now contributing fifty, whereas formerly each had sent a hundred. The reason why he did not organize the people into twelve tribes was that he might not have to divide them according to the already existing trittyes; for the four tribes had twelve trittyes, so that he would not have achieved his object of redistributing the population in fresh combinations. Further, he divided the country by demes into thirty parts, ten from the districts about the city, ten from the coast, and ten from the interior. These he called trittyes; and he assigned three of them by lot to each tribe, in such a way that each should have one portion in each of these three divisions. All who lived in any given deme he declared fellow-demesmen, to the end that the new citizens might not be exposed by the habitual use of family names, but that men might be known by the names of their demes; and accordingly it is by the names of their demes that the Athenians still speak of one another. He also instituted demarchs, who had the same duties as the previously existing naucrari, — the demes being made to take the place of the naucraries. He gave names to the demes, some from the localities to which they belonged, some from the persons who founded them, since some of them no longer corresponded to localities possessing names. On the other hand he allowed every one to retain his family and clan and religious rites according to ancestral custom. The names given to the tribes were the ten which the pythia appointed out of the hundred selected national heroes.

By these reforms the constitution became much more democratic than that of Solon. The laws of Solon had been obliterated by disuse during the period of the tyranny, while those which

replaced them were drawn up by Cleisthenes with the object of securing the good will of the masses. Among these was the law concerning ostracism. Four years after the establishment of this system, in the archonship of Hermoucreon, they first imposed upon the council of five hundred the oath which they take to the present day. Next they began to elect the generals according to tribes, one from each tribe, while the polemarch was the commander of the whole army. Then, eleven years later, they won the victory of Marathon, in the archonship of Phænippus; and two years after this victory, when the people had now gained self-confidence, they for the first time made use of the law of ostracism. It was originally passed as a precaution against men in high office, because Pisistratus took advantage of his position as a popular leader and general to make himself tyrant; and the first person ostracised was one of his relatives, Hipparchus son of Charmus, of the deme of Colyttus, the very person on whose account especially Cleisthenes had passed the law, as he wished to get rid of him. Hitherto, however, he had escaped; for the Athenians, with the usual leniency of the democracy, allowed all the partisans of the tyrants, who had not joined in their evil deeds in the time of the troubles, to remain in the city; and the chief and leader of these was Hipparchus. . . . Two years later, in the archonship of Nicodemus, the mines of Maroneia were discovered, and the state made a profit of a hundred talents from the working of them. Some persons advised the people to make a distribution of the money among themselves, but this was prevented by Themistocles. He refused to say on what he proposed to spend the money, but he bade them lend it to the hundred richest men in Athens, one talent to each, and then, if the manner in which it was employed pleased the people, the expenditure should be charged to the state, but otherwise the state should receive the sum back from those to whom it was lent. On these terms he received the money and with it he had a hundred triremes built, each of the hundred individuals

building one; and it was with these ships that they fought the battle of Salamis against the barbarians.

QUESTIONS

1. Make an outline of the constitution framed by Cleisthenes and note how it differed from the constitution of Solon. 2. Who benefited by the changes? 3. What was the origin and object of "ostracism"? 4. What are the peculiar and what the valuable features of the act attributed to Themistocles?

Fig. 8. Portion of Themistoclean Wall

V. WARS WITH THE PERSIANS AND THE CARTHAGINIANS

A. The Persian Wars

a. Persian Customs

Herodotus, I, 131

1. These are the customs, so far as I know, which the Persians practise: Images and temples and altars they do not account it lawful to erect, nay they even charge with folly those who do these things; and this, as it seems to me, because they do not account the gods to be in the likeness of men, as do the Hellenes. But it is their wont to perform sacrifices to Zeus: and they sacrifice to the sun and the moon and the earth, to fire and to water and to the winds: these are the only gods to whom they have sacrificed ever from the first; but they have learnt also to sacrifice to Aphrodite Urania, having learnt it both from the Assyrians and the Arabians; and the Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta, the Arabians Alitta, and the Persians Mitra.

Now this is the manner of sacrifice for the gods aforesaid which is established among the Persians: They make no altars neither do they kindle fire; and when they mean to sacrifice they use no libation nor music of the pipe nor chaplets nor meal for sprinkling; but when a man wishes to sacrifice to any one of the gods, he leads the animal for sacrifice to an unpolluted place and calls upon the god, having his tiara wreathed round generally with a branch of myrtle. For himself alone separately the man who sacrifices may not request good things in his prayer, but he prays that it may be well with all the Persians and with the king; for he himself also is included of course in the whole body of Per-

sians. And when he has cut up the victim into pieces and boiled the flesh, he spreads a layer of the freshest grass and especially clover, upon which he places forthwith all the pieces of flesh; and when he has placed them in order, a magian man stands by them and chants over them a theogony (for of this nature they say that their incantation is), seeing that without a magian it is not lawful for them to make sacrifices. Then after waiting a short time the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it for whatever purpose he pleases.

QUESTIONS

1. How did the Persian beliefs concerning the gods differ from the Greek beliefs found in the *Iliad?* 2. Where did Herodotus get his information concerning the Persian religion? 3. Had the Persian beliefs, according to Herodotus, been unchanged from the first? 4. What points of resemblance and of difference between the Persian forms of worship and the Greek forms found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey?*

b. The Second Invasion. Marathon

Herodotus, VI, 102–113

1. Having got Eretria into their power, they (the Persians) stayed a few days and then sailed for the land of Attica, pressing on hard and supposing that the Athenians would do the same as the Eretrians had done. And since Marathon was the most convenient place in Attica for horsemen to act and also was very near to Eretria, therefore Hippias the son of Pisistratus was guiding them thither.

When the Athenians had information of this, they too went to Marathon to the rescue of their land; and they were led by ten generals, of whom the tenth was Miltiades, whose father Kimon son of Stesagoras had been compelled to go into exile from Athens because of Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates.

First of all, while they were still in the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, namely Pheidippides, an Athenian and for the rest a runner of long day-courses and one who practised this as his profession.

However at that time, the time namely when he said that Pan appeared to him, this Pheidippides having been sent by the generals was in Sparta on the next day after that on which he left the city of the Athenians; and when he had come to the magistrates he said: "Lacedemonians, the Athenians make request of you to come to their help and not to allow a city most anciently established among the Hellenes to fall into slavery by the means of barbarians; for even now Eretria has been enslaved and Hellas has become the weaker by a city of renown." He, as I say, reported to them that with which he had been charged, and it pleased them well to come to help the Athenians; but it was impossible for them to do so at once, since they did not desire to break their law; for it was the ninth day of the month, and on the ninth day they said they would not go forth, nor until the circle of the moon should be full.

These then were waiting for the full moon: and meanwhile Hippias the son of Pisistratus was guiding the barbarians into Marathon, after having seen on the night that was just past a vision in his sleep. . . . He conjectured then from the dream that he should return to Athens and recover his rule, and then bring his life to an end in old age in his own land. From the dream, I say, he conjectured this; and after this, as he guided them in, first he disembarked the slaves from Eretria on the island belonging to the Styrians, called Aigleia; and then, as the ships came in to shore at Marathon, he moored them there, and after the barbarians had come from their ships to land, he was engaged in disposing them in their places. While he was ordering these things, it came upon him to sneeze and cough more violently than was his wont. Then since he was advanced in

years, most of his teeth were shaken thereby, and one of these teeth he cast forth by the violence of the cough: and the tooth having fallen from him upon the sand, he was very desirous to find it; since however the tooth was not to be found when he searched, he groaned aloud and said to those who were by him: "This land is not ours, nor shall we be able to make it subject to us; but so much part in it as belonged to me the tooth possesses." . . .

Now the opinions of the generals of the Athenians were divided, and the one party urged that they should not fight a battle, seeing that they were few to fight with the Medes, while the others, and among them Miltiades, advised that they should do so: and when they were divided and the worse opinion was like to prevail, then, since he who had been chosen by lot to be polemarch of the Athenians had a vote in addition to the ten (for in old times the Athenians gave the polemarch an equal vote with the generals) and at that time the polemarch was Callimachos of the deme of Aphidnai, to him came Miltiades and said as follows: "With thee now it rests, Callimachos, either to bring Athens under slavery, or by making her free to leave behind thee for all the time that men shall live a memorial such as not even Harmodios and Aristogeiton have left. For now the Athenians have come to a danger the greatest to which they have ever come since they were a people; and on the one hand, if they submit to the Medes, it is determined what they shall suffer, being delivered over to Hippias, while on the other hand, if this city shall gain the victory, it may become the first of the cities of Hellas. How this may happen and how it comes to thee of all men to have the decision of these matters, I am now about to tell. Of us the generals, who are ten in number, the opinions are divided, the one party urging that we fight a battle and the others that we do not fight. Now if we do not, I expect that some great spirit of discord will fall upon the minds of the Athenians and so shake them that they shall go over to the Medes; but if we fight a battle before any unsoundness appear in

any part of the Athenian people, then we are able to gain the victory in the fight, if the gods grant equal conditions. These things then all belong to thee and depend upon thee; for if thou attach thyself to my opinion, thou hast both a fatherland which is free and a native city which shall be the first among the cities of Hellas; but if thou choose the opinion of those who are earnest against fighting, thou shalt have the opposite of those good things of which I told thee."

Thus speaking Miltiades gained Callimachos to his side; and the opinion of the polemarch being added, it was thus determined to fight a battle. After this, those generals whose opinion was in favor of fighting, as the turn of each one of them to command for the day came around, gave over their command to Miltiades; and he, accepting it, would not however yet bring about a battle, until his own turn to command had come.

And when it came round to him, then the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the order which here follows: on the right wing the polemarch Callimachos was leader (for the custom of the Athenians then was this, that the polemarch should have the right wing); and he leading, next after him came the tribes in order as they were numbered one after another, and last were drawn up the Plataians occupying the left wing; for ever since this battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifices in the solemn assemblies which are made at the four yearly festivals, the herald of the Athenians prays thus, "that blessings may come to the Athenians and to the Plataians both." On this occasion, however, when the Athenians were being drawn up at Marathon something of this kind was done; their army being made equal in length of front to that of the Medes, came to be drawn up in the middle with a depth of but few ranks, and here their army was weakest, while each wing was strengthened with numbers.

And when they had been arranged in their places and the sacrifices proved favorable, then the Athenians were let go, and

they set forth at a run to attack the barbarians. Now the space between the armies was not less than eight furlongs; and the Persians seeing them advancing to the attack at a run, made preparations to receive them; and in their minds they charged the Athenians with madness which must be fatal, seeing that they were few and yet were pressing forward at a run, having neither cavalry nor archers. Such was the thought of the barbarians; but the Athenians when all in a body they had joined in combat with the barbarians, fought in a memorable fashion: for they were the first of all the Hellenes about whom we know who went to attack the enemy at a run, and they were the first also who endured to face the Median garments and the men who wore them, whereas up to this time the very name of the Medes was to the Hellenes a terror to hear.

Now while they fought in Marathon, much time passed by; and in the centre of the army where the Persian themselves and the Sacans were drawn up, the barbarians were winning, — here, I say, the barbarians had broken the ranks of their opponents and were pursuing them inland, but on both wings the Athenians and the Plataians severally were winning the victory; and being victorious they left that part of the barbarians which had been routed to fly without molestation, and bringing together the two wings they fought with those who had broken their centre, and the Athenians were victorious. So they followed after the Persians as they fled, slaughtering them, until they came to the sea; and then they called for fire and began to take hold of the ships.

Herodotus, VI, 115

2. Seven of the ships the Athenians got possession of in this manner, but with the rest the barbarians pushed off from land, and after taking the captives from Eretria off the island where they had left them, they sailed round Sunion, purposing to arrive at the city before the Athenians. And an accusation became current

among the Athenians to the effect that they formed this design by contrivance of the Alcmaionidai; for these, it was said, having concerted matters with the Persians, displayed to them a shield when they had now embarked in their ships.

These then, I say, were sailing round Sunion; and meanwhile the Athenians came to the rescue back to the city as speedily as they could, and they arrived there before the barbarians came; and having arrived from the temple of Heracles at Marathon they encamped at another temple of Heracles, namely that which is in Kynosarges. The barbarians, however, came and lay with their ships in the sea which is off Phaleron (for this was then the seaport of the Athenians), they anchored their ships, I say, off this place, and proceeded to sail back to Asia.

In this fight at Marathon there were slain of the barbarians about six thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians a hundred and ninety and two. Such was the number which fell on both sides; and it happened also that a marvel occurred there of this kind: an Athenian, Epizelos the son of Cuphagoras, while fighting in the close combat and proving himself a good man, was deprived of the sight of his eyes, neither having received a blow in any part of his body nor having been hit with a missile, and for the rest of his life from this time he continued to be blind; and I was informed that he used to tell about that which had happened to him a tale of this kind, namely that it seemed to him that a tall man in full armor stood against him, whose beard overshadowed his whole shield; and this apparition passed him by, but killed his comrade who stood next to him; thus, as I was informed, Epizelos told the tale.

QUESTIONS

1. Why should the Persians bring Hippias back with them? 2. In what ways are our means of communication better to-day than when Phidippides ran from Athens to Sparta? 3. Do you believe that the

god Pan really met Phidippides on the way? 4. How could Herodotus learn the exact words of the message delivered to the Spartans by Phidippides? 5. How much of this story about Phidippides is probably true? 6. What does the story tell us of the feeling in Athens about the Persian invasion? 7. In Sparta? 8. Do you believe the story about the tooth of Hippias? 9. Are we sure that Miltiades really uttered the words put into his mouth by Herodotus? 10. What is there in the speech that suggests that the speech was written after the war? 11. What connection between the organization of the Athenian people and of the Athenian army? 12. Is it likely that the Persians outnumbered the Athenians ten to one? 13. Did the Persians fight well at Marathon? 14. Can we trust the statement, given by Herodotus, of the number that fell on either side? 15. Was the Persian army demoralized? 16. Were the Athenians united against the Persians? 17. What do you think of the story of Epizelos? 18. Did Herodotus believe it?

c. The Third Invasion

1. The Persian Army

Herodotus, VII, 60–87

1. Now of the number which each separate nation supplied I am not able to give certain information, for this is not reported by any person; but of the whole land-army taken together the number proved to be one hundred and seventy myriads; and they numbered them throughout in the following manner: they gathered together in one place a body of ten thousand men, and packing them together as closely as they could, they drew a circle round outside; and thus having drawn a circle round and having let the ten thousand men go from it, they built a wall of rough stones round the circumference of the circle, rising to the height of a man's waist. Having made this, they caused others to go into the space which had been built round, until they had in this manner numbered them all throughout; and after they had numbered them they ordered them separately by nations.

Now those who served were as follows: the Persians with this equipment: about their heads they had soft felt caps called tiaras, and about their body tunics of various colors with sleeves, presenting the appearance of iron scales like those of a fish, and about the legs trousers; and instead of the ordinary shields they had shields of wicker-work, under which hung quivers; and they had short spears and large bows and arrows of reed, and moreover daggers hanging by the right thigh from the girdle; and they acknowledged as their commander Otanes the father of Amestris the wife of Xerxes. . . .

The Medes served in the expedition equipped in precisely the same manner; for this equipment is in fact Median and not Persian: . . .

The Assyrians served with helmets about their heads made of bronze or plaited in a barbarian style which it is not easy to describe; and they had shields and spears, and daggers like the Egyptian knives, and moreover they had wooden clubs with knobs of iron, and corslets of linen. . . .

The Bactrians served wearing about their heads nearly the same covering as the Medes, and having native bows of reed and short spears. The Sacan Scythians had about their heads caps which were carried up to a point and set upright and stiff; and they wore trousers, and carried native bows and daggers, and besides this axes of the kind called *sagaris*. . . .

The Indians wore garments made of tree-wool, and they had bows of reed and arrows of reed with iron points. . . .

The Caspians served wearing coats of skin and having native bows of reed and short swords: . . .

The Arabians wore loose mantles girt up, and they carried at their right side bows that bent backward of great length. The Ethiopians had skins of leopards and lions tied upon them, and bows made of a slip of palm-wood, which were of great length, not less than four cubits, and for them small arrows of reed with

a sharpened stone at the head instead of iron, the same stone with which they engrave seals: in addition to this they had spears, and on them was the sharpened horn of a gazelle by way of a spear-head, and they had also clubs with knobs upon them. Of their body they used to smear over half with white, when they went to battle, and the other half with red. . . .

The Thracians served having fox-skins upon their heads and tunics about their body, with loose mantles of various colors thrown round over them; and about their feet and lower part of the leg they wore boots of deer-skin; and besides this they had javelins and round bucklers and small daggers. . . .

The Colchians wore wooden helmets about their heads, and had small shields of raw ox-hide and short spears, and also knives. . . .

These were generals of the whole together that went on foot excepting the ten thousand; and of these ten thousand chosen Persians the general was Hydarnes son of Hydarnes; and these Persians were called "Immortals," because, if any one of them made the number incomplete, being overcome by death or disease, another man was chosen to his place, and they were never either more or fewer than ten thousand. Now of all the nations, the Persians showed the greatest splendor of ornament and were themselves the best men. They had equipment such as has been mentioned, and besides this they were conspicuous among the rest for great quantity of gold freely used; and they took them with carriages, and in them concubines and a multitude of attendants well furnished; and provisions for them apart from the soldiers were borne by camels and beasts of burden. . . .

These nations alone served as cavalry, and the number of the cavalry proved to be eight myriads, apart from the camels and the chariots. Now the rest of the cavalry was arrayed in squadrons, but the Arabians were placed after them and last of all, for the horses could not endure the camels, and therefore they were placed last, in order that the horses might not be frightened.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you think of Herodotus' story of the *measuring* of the Persian army? 2. Locate on an outline map the peoples that composed the army. 3. Make a classified list of the armor and of the offensive and defensive weapons used by the Persians. 4. Which troops in the Persian army were the best equipped? 5. Compared with an army of Greeks, what did such an army as that of Xerxes lack?

2. Thermopylæ

Herodotus, VII, 140–225

1. For the Athenians had sent men to Delphi to inquire and were preparing to consult the oracle; and after these had performed the usual rites in the sacred precincts, when they had entered the sanctuary and were sitting down there, the Pythian prophetess, whose name was Aristonike, uttered to them this oracle: —

Why do ye sit, O ye wretched? Flee thou to the uttermost limits,
Leaving thy home and the heights of the wheel-round city behind thee!
Lo, there remaineth now nor the head nor the body in safety,
Neither the feet below nor the hands nor the middle are left thee, —
All are destroyèd together; for fire and the passionate war-god,
Urging the Syrian car to speed, doth hurl them to ruin.
Not thine alone, he shall cause many more great strongholds to perish,
Yea, many temples of gods to the ravening fire shall deliver, —
Temples which stand now surely with sweat of their terror down-
streaming,
Quaking with dread; and lo! from the topmost roof to the pavement,
Dark blood trickles, forecasting the dire unavoidable evil.
Forth you with, forth from the shrine, and steep your soul in the sorrow!

Hearing this the men who had been sent by the Athenians to consult the oracle were very greatly distressed: and as they were despairing by reason of the evil which had been prophesied to

them, Timon the son of Androbulos, a man of the Delphians in reputation equal to the first, counselled them to take a suppliant's bough and to approach the second time and consult the oracle as suppliants. The Athenians did as he advised and said: "Lord, we pray thee utter to us some better oracle about our native land, having respect to these suppliant boughs which we have come to thee bearing; otherwise surely we will not depart away from the sanctuary, but will remain here where we are now even until we bring our lives to an end." When they spoke these words, the prophetess gave them a second oracle as follows: —

Pallas cannot prevail to appease great Zeus in Olympus,
Though she with words very many and wiles close-woven entreat him.
But I will tell thee this more, and will clench it with steel adamantine:
Then when all else shall be taken, whatever the boundary of Cecrops
Holdeth within, and the dark ravines of divinest Cithairon,
A bulwark of wood at the last Zeus grants to the Trito-born goddess
Sole to remain unwasted, which thee and thy children shall profit.
Stay thou not there for the horsemen to come and the footmen unnumbered;
Stay thou not still for the host from the mainland to come, but retire thee,
Turning thy back to the foe, for yet thou shalt face him hereafter.
Salamis, thou the divine, thou shalt cause sons of women to perish,
Or when the grain is scattered or when it is gathered together.

This seemed to them to be (as in truth it was) a milder utterance than the former one; therefore they had it written down and departed with it to Athens: and when the messengers after their return made report to the people, many various opinions were expressed by persons inquiring into the meaning of the oracle, and among them these standing most in opposition to one another: some of the elder men said they thought that the god had prophesied to them that the acropolis should survive; for the acropolis of the Athenians was in old times fenced with a thorn hedge; and

they conjectured accordingly that this saying about the "bulwark of wood" referred to the fence: others on the contrary said that the god meant by this their ships, and they advised to leave all else and get ready these. Now they who said that the ships were the bulwark of wood were shaken in their interpretation by the two last verses which the prophetess uttered: —

Salamis, thou the divine, thou shalt cause sons of women to perish,
Or when the grain is scattered or when it is gathered together.

In references to these verses the opinions of those who said that the ships were the bulwark of wood were disturbed; for the interpreters of oracles took these to mean that it was fated for them, having got ready for a sea-fight, to suffer defeat round about Salamis.

Now there was one man of the Athenians who had lately been coming forward to take a place among the first, whose name was Themistocles, called son of Neocles. This man said that the interpreters of oracles did not make right conjecture on the whole, and he spoke as follows, saying that if these words that had been uttered referred really to the Athenians, he did not think it would have been so mildly expressed in the oracle, but rather thus, "Salamis, thou the merciless," instead of "Salamis, thou the divine" at least if its settlers were destined to perish round about it: but in truth the oracle had been spoken by the god with reference to the enemy, if one understood it rightly, and not to the Athenians: therefore he counselled them to get ready to fight a battle by sea, for in this was their bulwark of wood. When Themistocles declared his opinion thus, the Athenians judged that this was to be preferred by them rather than the advice of the interpreters of oracles, who bade them not to make ready for a sea-fight, nor in short raise their hands at all in opposition, but leave the land of Attica and settle in some other. . . .

As to Artemision first, coming out of the Thracian sea the

Fig. 9. East Front of the Parthenon, Restored and Dissected

space is contracted from great width to that narrow channel which lies between the island of Skiathos and the mainland of Magnesia; and after the strait there follows at once in Eubœa the sea-beach called Artemision, upon which there is a temple of Artemis. Then secondly the passage into Hellas by Trachis is, where it is narrowest, but fifty feet wide: it is not here, however, that the narrowest part of this whole region lies, but in front of Thermopylai and also behind it, consisting of a single wheel-track only both by Alpenci, which lies behind Thermopylai, and again by the river Phoinix near the town of Anthela there is no space but a single wheel-track only: and on the west of Thermopylai there is a mountain which is impassable and precipitous, rising up to a great height and extending towards the range of Oite, while on the east of the road the sea with swampy pools succeeds at once. In this passage there are hot springs, which the natives of the place call the "Pots," and an altar of Heracles is set up near them. Moreover a wall had once been built at this pass, and in old times there was a gate set in it; which wall was built by the Phocians, who were struck with fear because the Thessalians had come from the land of the Thesprotians to settle in the Aiolian land, the same which they now possess. Since then the Thessalians, as they supposed, were attempting to subdue them, the Phocians guarded themselves against this beforehand; and at that time they let the water of the hot springs run over the passage, that the place might be converted into a ravine, and devised every means that the Thessalians might not make the invasion of their land. Now the ancient wall had been built long before, and the greater part of it was by that time in ruins from lapse of time; the Hellenes, however, resolved to set it up again and at this spot to repel the barbarian from Hellas: and very near the road there is a village called Alpenoi, from which the Hellenes counted on getting supplies. . . .

These, I say, had intended to do thus; and meanwhile the Hellenes at Thermopylai, when the Persian had come near to

the pass, were in dread, and deliberated about making retreat from their position. To the rest of the Peloponnesians then it seemed best that they should go to the Peloponnese and hold the isthmus in guard; but Leonidas, when the Phocians and Locrians were indignant at this opinion, gave his vote for remaining there, and for sending at the same time messengers to the several states bidding them come up to help them since they were but few to repel the army of the Medes.

As they were thus deliberating, Xerxes sent a scout on horseback to see how many they were in number and what they were doing; for he had heard while he was yet in Thessaly that there had been assembled in this place a small force, and that the leaders of it were Lacedemonians together with Leonidas, who was of the race of Heracles. And when the horseman had ridden up towards their camp, he looked upon them and had a view not indeed of the whole of their army, for of those which were posted within the wall, which they had repaired and were keeping in guard it was not possible to have a view, but he observed those who were outside, whose station was in front of the wall; and it chanced at that time that the Lacedemonians were they who were posted outside. So then he saw some of the men practising athletic exercises and some combing their long hair: and as he looked upon these things he marvelled, and at the same time he observed their number: and when he had observed all exactly, he rode back unmolested, for no one attempted to pursue him and he found himself treated with much indifference. And when he returned he reported to Xerxes all that which he had seen.

Hearing this Xerxes was not able to conjecture the truth about the matter, namely that they were preparing themselves to die and to deal death to the enemy so far as they might; but it seemed to him that they were acting in a manner merely ridiculous; and therefore he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in his camp, and when he came, Xerxes asked him of

these things severally, desiring to discover what this was which the Lacedemonians were doing: and he said: "Thou didst hear from my mouth at a former time, when we were setting forth to go against Hellas, the things concerning these men; and having heard them thou madest me an object of laughter, because I told thee of these things which I perceived would come to pass; for to me it is the greatest of all ends to speak the truth continually before thee, O king. Hear then now also: these men have come to fight with us for the passage, and this it is that they are preparing to do; for they have a custom which is as follows: whenever they are about to put their lives in peril, then they attend to the arrangement of their hair. Be assured, however, that if thou shalt subdue these and the rest of them which remain behind in Sparta, there is no other race of men which will await thy onset, O king, or will raise hands against thee: for now thou art about to fight against the noblest kingdom and city of those which are among the Hellenes, and the best men." To Xerxes that which was said seemed to be utterly incredible, and he asked again a second time in what manner being so few they would fight with his host. He said: "O king, deal with me as with a liar, if thou find not that these things come to pass as I say."

Thus saying he did not convince Xerxes, who let four days go by, expecting always that they would take to flight; but on the fifth day, when they did not depart but remained, being obstinate, as he thought, in impudence and folly, he was enraged and sent against them the Medes and the Kissians, charging them to take the men alive and bring them into his presence. Then when the Medes moved forward and attacked the Hellenes, there fell many of them, and others kept coming up continually, and they were not driven back, though suffering great loss: and they made it evident to every man, and to the king himself not least of all, that human beings are many but men are few. This combat went on throughout the day.

And when the Medes were being roughly handled, then these retired from the battle, and the Persians, those namely whom the king called "Immortals," of whom Hydarnes was commander, took their place and came to the attack, supposing that they, at least, would easily overcome the enemy. When, however, these also engaged in combat with the Hellenes, they gained no more success than the Median troops but the same as they, seeing that they were fighting in a place with a narrow passage, using shorter spears than the Hellenes, and not being able to take advantage of their superior numbers. The Lacedemonians meanwhile were fighting in a memorable fashion, and besides other things of which they made display, being men perfectly skilled in fighting opposed to men who were unskilled, they would turn their backs to the enemy and make a pretence of taking to flight; and the barbarians, seeing them thus taking to flight, would follow after them with shouting and clashing of arms: then the Lacedemonians, when they were being caught up, turned back and faced the barbarians; and thus turning round they would slay innumerable multitudes of the Persians; and there fell also at these times a few of the Spartans themselves. So, as the Persians were not able to obtain any success by making a trial of the entrance and attacking it by divisions and every way, they retired.

And during these onsets it is said that the king, looking on, three times leaped up from his seat, struck with fear for his army. Thus they contended then: and on the following day the barbarians strove with no better result, for because the men opposed to them were few in number, they engaged battle with the expectation that they would be found to be disabled and would not be capable any longer of raising their hands against them in fight. The Hellenes, however, were ordered by companies as well as by nations, and they fought successively each in turn, excepting the Phocians, for these were posted upon the mountain to guard the path. So the Persians, finding nothing different

from that which they had seen on the former day, retired from the fight. . . .

To the Hellenes who were in Thermopylai first the soothsayer Megistias, after looking into the victims which were sacrificed, declared the death which was to come to them at dawn of day; and afterwards deserters brought the report of the Persians having gone round. These signified it to them while it was yet night, and thirdly came the day-watchers, who had run down from the heights when day was already dawning. Then the Hellenes deliberated, and their opinions were divided; for some urged that they should not desert their post, while others opposed this counsel. After this they departed from their assembly and some went away and dispersed each to their several cities, while others of them were ready to remain there together with Leonidas.

However, it is reported, also, that Leonidas himself sent them, having a care that they might not perish, but thinking that it was not seemly for himself and for the Spartans who were present to leave the post to which they had come at first to keep guard there. I am inclined rather to be of this latter opinion, namely that because Leonidas perceived that the allies were out of heart and did not desire to face the danger with him to the end. He ordered them to depart, but held that for himself to go away was not honorable, whereas if he remained, a great fame of him would be left behind and the prosperity of Sparta would not be blotted out; for an oracle had been given by the Pythian prophetess to the Spartans, when they consulted about this war at the time that it was being first set on foot, to the effect that either Lacedemon must be destroyed by the barbarians, or their king must lose his life. This reply the prophetess gave them in hexameter verses, and it ran thus:—

But as for you, ye men who in wide-spaced Sparta inhabit,
Either your glorious city is sacked by the children of Perses,

Or, if it be not so, then a king of the stock Heracleian
Dead shall be mourned for by all in the boundaries of broad Lacedemon.
Him nor the might of bulls nor the raging of lions shall hinder;
For he hath might as of Zeus; and I say he shall not be restrainèd,
Till one or other of these he have utterly torn and divided.

I am of opinion that Leonidas considering these things and desiring to lay up for himself glory above all the other Spartans, dismissed the allies, rather than that those who departed did so in such disorderly fashion, because they were divided in opinion.

Xerxes meanwhile, having made libations at sunrise, stayed for some time, until about the hour when the market fills, and then made an advance upon them; for thus it had been enjoined by Epialtes, seeing that the descent of the mountain is shorter and the space to be passed over much less than the going round and the ascent. The barbarians accordingly with Xerxes were advancing to the attack; and the Hellenes with Leonidas, feeling that they were going forth to death, now advanced out much further than at first into the broader part of the defile; for when the fence of the wall was being guarded, they on the former days fought retiring before the enemy into the narrow part of the pass; but now they engaged with them outside the narrows, and very many of the barbarians fell: for behind them the leaders of the divisions with scourges in their hands were striking each man, ever urging them on to the front. Many of them then were driven into the sea and perished, and many more still were trodden down while yet alive by one another, and there was no reckoning of the number that perished; for knowing that death which was about to come upon them by reason of those who were going round the mountain, they displayed upon the barbarians all the strength which they had, to its greatest extent, disregarding danger and acting as if possessed by a spirit of recklessness.

Now by this time the spears of the greater number of them

were broken, so it chanced, in this combat, and they were slaying the Persians with their swords; and in this fighting fell Leonidas, having proved himself a very good man, and others, also, of the Spartans with him, men of note, of whose names I was informed as of men who had proved themselves worthy, and indeed I was told also the names of all the three hundred. Moreover of the Persians there fell here, besides many others of note, especially two sons of Dareios, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Dareios of Phratagune the daughter of Artanes: now Artanes was the brother of king Dareios and the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames; and he in giving his daughter in marriage to Dareios gave also with her all his substance, because she was his only child.

Two brothers of Xerxes, I say, fell here fighting; and meanwhile over the body of Leonidas there arose a great struggle between the Persians and the Lacedemonians, until the Hellenes by valor dragged this away from the enemy and turned their opponents to flight four times. This conflict continued until those who had gone with Epialtes came up; and when the Hellenes learnt that these had come, from that moment the nature of the combat was changed; for they retired to the narrow part of the way, and having passed by the wall they went and placed themselves upon the hillock, all in a body together, except only the Thebans. Now this hillock is in the entrance, where now the stone lion is placed for Leonidas. On this spot, while defending themselves with daggers, that is those who still had them left, and also with hands and with teeth, they were overwhelmed by the missiles of the barbarians, some of these having followed directly after them and destroyed the wall, while others had come round and stood about them on all sides.

QUESTIONS

1. Do the oracles given by Herodotus (chapters 140, 141) appear to be literal reproductions of the utterances of the priestess, delivered

before the victories of the Greeks over the Persians? Give reasons for your opinion. 2. Did the Athenians believe in the ability of the oracle to predict coming events? 3. What seemed to be the opinion of the oracle as to the outcome of the war? 4. Was Themistocles' interpretation of the oracle a natural one for him to make? 5. Locate Thermopylæ and Artemisium on a sketch map of Greece and explain their importance in a plan for the defence of Greece. 6. What do you think of the literal truth of the story in chapter 209? 7. In what part of Greece is it probable that the story originated? 8. What reason could there have been for the statement that if the Spartans were subdued "there is no other race of men which will await thy onset"? 9. Do you think that the account of the battle of Thermopylæ is fair to the Persians? 10. What advantages had the Spartans over the Persians in this battle? 11. Where did Herodotus probably get his information about the battle of Thermopylæ? 12. What is the value of the opinion of Herodotus as to why the Spartans remained at Thermopylæ? 13. Are we sure that the oracle about the death of a Spartan king was not fabricated after Thermopylæ? 14. Was Herodotus a critical investigator or was he rather credulous? 15. Were all the Persians driven into battle by whips in the hands of their officers? 16. Make a condensed outline of the battle and illustrate it by a map. 17. Where could Herodotus learn the names of the three hundred Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ?

3. Salamis

Herodotus, VIII, 83–86

1. The Hellenes, then, since they believed that which was said by the Tenians, were preparing for a sea-fight: and as the dawn appeared, they made an assembly of those who fought on board the ships and addressed them, Themistocles making a speech which was eloquent beyond the rest; and the substance of it was to set forth all that is better as opposed to that which is worse, of the several things which arise in the nature and constitution of man; and having exhorted them to choose the better, and thus having wound up his speech, he bade them embark in

their ships. These, then, proceeded to embark, and there came in meanwhile the trireme from Egina which had gone away to bring the sons of Aiacos.

Then the Hellenes put out all their ships, and while they were putting out from shore, the barbarians attacked them forthwith. Now the other Hellenes began backing their ships and were about to run them aground, but Ameinias of Pallene, an Athenian, put forth with his ship and charged one of the enemy; and his ship being entangled in combat and the men not being able to get away, the others joined in the fight to assist Ameinias. The Athenians say that the beginning of the battle was made thus, but the Eginetans say that the ship which went away to Egina to bring the sons of Aiacos was that which began the fight. It is also reported that an apparition of a woman was seen by them, and that having appeared she encouraged them to the fight so that the whole army of the Hellenes heard it, first having reproached them in these words: "Madmen, how far will ye yet back your ships?"

Opposite the Athenians had been ranged the Phœnicians, for these occupied the wing towards Eleusis and the west, and opposite the Lacedemonians were the Ionians, who occupied the wing which extended to the east and to Piræus. Of them, however, a few were purposely slack in the fight according to the injunctions of Themistocles, but the greater number were not so. I might mention now the names of many captains of ships who destroyed ships of the Hellenes, but I will make no use of their names except in the case of Theomestor the son of Androdamos and Phylacos the son of Histiaios, of Samos both: and for this reason I make mention of these and not of the rest, because Theomestor on account of this deed became despot of Samos, appointed by the Persians, and Phylacos was recorded as a benefactor of the king and received much land as a reward. Now the benefactors of the king are called in the Persian tongue *orosangai.*

Thus it was with these; but the greater number of their ships were disabled at Salamis, being destroyed some by the Athenians and others by the Eginetans; for since the Hellenes fought in order and ranged in their places, while the barbarians were no longer ranged in order nor did anything with design, it was likely that there would be some such result as in fact followed. Yet on this day they surpassed themselves much more than when they fought by Eubœa, every one being eager and fearing Xerxes, and each man thinking that the king was looking especially at him.

Plutarch, *Lives*, I, pp. 183, 184

2. As soon as it was day, Xerxes placed himself high up, to view his fleet, and how it was set in order. Phanodemus says, he sat upon a promontory above the temple of Hercules, where the coast of Attica is separated from the island by a narrow channel; but Acestodorus writes, that it was in the confines of Megara, upon those hills which are called the Horns, where he sat in a chair of gold, with many secretaries about him to write down all that was done in the fight.

The number of the enemy's ships the poet Æschylus gives in his tragedy called the *Persians*, as on his certain knowledge, in the following words: —

> "Xerxes, I know, did into battle lead
> One thousand ships; of more than usual speed
> Seven and two hundred. So it is agreed."

The Athenians had a hundred and eighty; in every ship eighteen men fought upon the deck, four of whom were archers and the rest men at arms.

As Themistocles had fixed upon the most advantageous place, so, with no less sagacity, he chose the best time of fighting; for he would not run the prows of his galleys against the Persians, nor

begin the fight till the time of day was come, when there regularly blows in a fresh breeze from the open sea, and brings in with it a strong swell into the channel; which was no inconvenience to the Greek ships, which were low-built, and little above the water, but did much hurt to the Persians, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and cumbrous in their movements, as it presented them broadside to the quick charges of the Greeks, who kept their eyes upon the motions of Themistocles, as their best example, and more particularly because, opposed to his ship, Ariamenes, admiral to Xerxes, a brave man, and by far the best and worthiest of the king's brothers, was seen throwing darts and shooting arrows from his huge galley, as from the walls of a castle. Aminias the Decelean and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in the same vessel, upon the ships meeting stem to stem, and transfixing each the other with their brazen prows, so that they were fastened together, when Ariamenes attempted to board theirs, ran at him with their pikes, and thrust him into the sea; his body, as it floated amongst other shipwrecks, was known to Artemisia, and carried to Xerxes.

It is reported that, in the middle of the fight, a great flame rose into the air above the city of Eleusis, and that sounds and voices were heard through all the Thriasian plain, as far as the sea, sounding like a number of men accompanying and escorting the mystic Iacchus, and that a mist seemed to form and rise from the place from whence the sounds came, and, passing forward, fell upon the galleys. Others believed that they saw apparitions, in the shape of armed men, reaching out their hands from the island of Ægina before the Grecian galleys; and supposed they were the Æacidæ, whom they had invoked to their aid before the battle. The first man that took a ship was Lycomedes the Athenian, captain of a galley, who cut down its ensign, and dedicated it to Apollo the laurel-crowned. And as the Persians fought in a narrow arm of the sea, and could bring but part of their fleet to

fight, and fell foul of one another, the Greeks thus equalled them in strength, and fought with them till the evening forced them back, and obtained, as says Simonides, that noble and famous victory, than which neither amongst the Greeks nor barbarians was ever known more glorious exploit on the seas; by the joint valor, indeed, and zeal of all who fought, but by the wisdom and sagacity of Themistocles.

3. Æschylus, *The Persians*, ll. 333–473

Atossa. Woe, woe! I hear the very worst of ills,
Shame to the Persians, cause of bitter wail;
But tell me, going o'er the ground again,
How great the number of the Hellenes' navy,
That they presumed with Persia's armament
To wage their warfare in the clash of ships.

Messenger. As far as numbers went, be sure the ships
Of Persia had the better, for the Hellenes
Had as their total, ships but fifteen score,
And other ten selected as reserve.
And Xerxes (well I know it) had a thousand
Which he commanded — those that most excelled
In speed were twice five score and seven in number;
So stands the account. Deem'st thou our forces less
In that encounter? Nay, some power above
Destroyed our host, and pressed the balance down
With most unequal fortune, and the gods
Preserve the city of the goddess Pallas.

Atossa. Is the Athenian's city then unsacked?

Messenger. Their men are left, and that is bulwark strong.

Atossa. Next tell me how the fight of ships began.
Who led the attack? Were those Hellenes the first,
Or was't my son, exulting in his strength?

Messenger. The author of the mischief, O my mistress,
Was some foul fiend or power on evil bent;
For lo! a Hellene from the Athenian host

Came to thy son, to Xerxes, and spake thus,
That should the shadow of the dark night come,
The Hellenes would not wait him, but would leap
Into their rowers' benches, here and there,
And save their lives in secret, hasty flight.
And he forthwith, this hearing, knowing not
The Hellenes' guile, nor yet the gods' great wrath,
Gives this command to all his admirals,
Soon as the sun should cease to burn the earth
With his bright rays and darkness thick invade
The firmament of heaven, to set their ships
In three-fold lines, to hinder all escape,
And guard the billowy straits, and others place
In circuit round about the isle of Aias:
For if the Hellenes 'scaped an evil doom,
And found a way of secret, hasty flight,
It was ordained that all should lose their heads.
Such things he spake from soul o'erwrought with pride,
For he knew not what fate the gods would send;
And they not mutinous, but prompt to serve,
Then made their supper ready, and each sailor
Fastened his oar around true-fitting thole,
And when the sunlight vanished, and the night
Had come, then each man, master of an oar,
Went to his ship, and all men bearing arms,
And through the long ships rank cheered loud to rank;
And so they sail, as 'twas appointed each,
And all night long the captains of the fleet
Kept their men working, rowing to and fro;
Night then came on, and the Hellenic host
In no wise sought to take to secret flight.
And when day, bright to look on with white steeds,
O'erspread the earth, then rose from the Hellenes
Loud chant of cry of battle, and forthwith
Echo gave answer from each island rock;
And terror then on all the Persians fell,

Of fond hopes disappointed. Not in flight
The Hellenes then their solemn pæans sang:
But with brave spirit hasting on to battle.
With martial sound the trumpet fired those ranks;
And straight with sweep of oars that flew through foam,
They smote the loud waves at the boatswain's call;
And swiftly all were manifest to sight.
Then first their right wing moved in order meet;
Next the whole line its forward course began,
And all at once we heard a mighty shout, —
"O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country;
Free too your wives, your children, and the shrines
Built to your fathers' gods, and holy tombs
Your ancestors now rest in. Now the fight
Is for our all." And on our side indeed
Arose in answer din of Persian speech,
And time to wait was over; ship on ship
Dashed its bronze-pointed beak, and first a barque
Of Hellas did the encounter fierce begin,
And from Phœnician vessel crashes off
Her carved prow. And each against his neighbor
Steers his own ship: and first the mighty flood
Of Persian host held out. But when the ships
Were crowded in the straits, nor could they give
Help to each other, they with mutual shocks,
With beaks of bronze went crushing each the other,
Shivering their rowers' benches. And the ships
Of Hellas, with manœuvring not unskilful,
Charged circling round them. And the hulls of ships
Floated capsized, nor could the sea be seen,
Strown, as it was, with wrecks and carcasses;
And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses.
And every ship was wildly rowed in fight,
All that composed the Persian armament.
And they, as men spear tunnies, or a haul
Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars,

Or spars of wrecks went smiting, cleaving down;
And bitter groans and wailings overspread
The wide sea-waves, till eye of swarthy night
Bade it all cease: and for the mass of ills,
Not, though my tale should run for ten full days,
Could I in full recount them. Be assured
That never yet so great a multitude
Died in a single day as died in this.

Atossa. Ah, me! Great then the sea of ills that breaks
On Persia and the whole barbaric host.

Messenger. Be sure our evil fate is but half o'er:
On this has supervened such bulk of woe,
As more than twice to outweigh what I've told.

Atossa. And yet what fortune could be worse than this?
Say, what is this disaster which thou tell'st,
That turns the scale to greater evils still?

Messenger. Those Persians that were in the bloom of life,
Bravest in heart and noblest in their blood,
And by the king himself deemed worthiest trust,
Basely and by most shameful death have died.

Atossa. Ah! woe is me, my friends, for our ill fate!
What was the death by which thou say'st they perished?

Messenger. There is an isle that lies off Salamis,
Small, with bad anchorage for ships, where Pan,
Pan the dance-loving, haunts the sea-washed coast.
There Xerxes sends these men, that when their foes,
Being wrecked, should to the islands safely swim,
They might with ease destroy th' Hellenic host,
And save their friends from out the deep sea's paths;
But ill the future guessing: for when God
Gave the Hellenes the glory of the battle,
In that same hour, with arms well wrought in bronze
Shielding their bodies, from their ships they leapt,
And the whole isle encircled, so that we
Were sore distressed, and knew not where to turn;
For here men's hands hurled many a stone at them;

And there the arrows from the archer's bow
Smote and destroyed them; and with one great rush,
At last advancing, they upon them dash
And smite, and hew the limbs of these poor wretches,
Till they each foe had utterly destroyed.
(And Xerxes when he saw how deep the ill,
Groaned out aloud, for he had ta'en his seat,
With clear, wide view of all the army round,
On a high cliff hard by the open sea;
And tearing then his robes with bitter cry,
And giving orders to his troops on shore,
He sends them off in foul retreat. This grief
'Tis thine to mourn besides the former ills.)

Herodotus, VIII, 97–99

4. When Xerxes perceived the disaster which had come upon him, he feared lest some one of the Ionians should suggest to the Hellenes, or they should themselves form the idea, to sail to the Hellespont and break up the bridges; and so he might be cut off in Europe and run the risk of perishing utterly: therefore he began to consider about taking flight. He desired however that his intention should not be perceived either by the Hellenes or by those of his own side; therefore he attempted to construct a mole going across to Salamis, and he bound together Phœnician merchant vessels in order that they might serve him both for a bridge and a wall, and made preparations for fighting as if he were going to have another battle by sea. Seeing him do so, all the rest made sure that he had got himself ready in earnest and intended to stay and fight; but Mardonius did not fail to perceive the true meaning of all these things, being by experience very well versed in his way of thinking.

While Xerxes was doing thus, he sent a messenger to the Persians to announce the calamity which had come upon them. Now there is nothing mortal which accomplishes a journey with

more speed than these messengers, so skilfully has this been invented by the Persians: for they say that according to the number of the days of which the entire journey consists, so many horses and men are set at intervals, each man and horse appointed for a day's journey. These neither snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness of night prevents from accomplishing each one the task proposed to him, with the very utmost speed. The first then rides and delivers the message with which he is charged to the second, and the second to the third; and after that it goes through them handed from one to the other, as in the torch-race among the Hellenes, which they perform for Hephaistos. This kind of running of their horses the Persians call *angareion*.

The first message then which came to Susa, announcing that Xerxes had Athens in his possession, so greatly rejoiced the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the ways with myrtle boughs and offered incense perpetually, and themselves continued in sacrifices and feasting. The second message, however, which came to them after this, so greatly disturbed them that they all tore their garments and gave themselves up to crying and lamentation without stint, laying the blame upon Mardonius: and this the Persians did not so much because they were grieved about the ships, as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

QUESTIONS

1. Compare the three accounts of the battle of Salamis given by Æschylus, Herodotus, and Plutarch, noting in what they agree and in what they disagree. Are they independent? 2. Which account is the most valuable, and why? 3. Point out the myths in these accounts, *i.e.* things that could not have happened. 4. Make an outline of the battle of Salamis, using the sources, and write a narrative citing the sources. Where they disagree, explain in a note why you follow one source rather than another. 5. Read aloud Æschylus' description of the battle. 6. Compare the rapidity with which news was transmitted in Persia in Xerxes' day with the results attained in our day.

4. Platæa

Herodotus, IX, 41–85

1. For ten days, then, nothing more was done than this; but when the eleventh day had come, while they still sat opposite to one another at Platæa, the Hellenes having by this time grown much more numerous and Mardonius being greatly vexed at the delay of action, then Mardonius the son of Gobryas and Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, who was esteemed by Xerxes as few of the Persians were besides, came to speech with one another; and as they conferred, the opinions which they expressed were these, — that of Artabazus, that they must put the whole army in motion as soon as possible and go to the wall of the Thebans, whither great stores of corn had been brought in for them and fodder for their beasts; and that they should settle there quietly and get their business done as follows: they had, he said, great quantities of gold, both coined and uncoined, and also of silver and of drinking-cups; and these he advised that they should send about to the Hellenes without any stint, more especially to those of the Hellenes who were leaders in their several cities; and these, he said, would speedily deliver up their freedom: and he advised that they should not run the risk of a battle. His opinion then was the same as that of the Thebans, for he as well as they had some true foresight: but the opinion of Mardonius was more vehement and more obstinate, and he was by no means disposed to yield; for he said that he thought their army far superior to that of the Hellenes, and he gave as his opinion that they should engage battle as quickly as possible and not allow them to assemble in still greater numbers than were already assembled; and as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, they should leave them alone and not endeavor to force a good sign, but follow the custom of the Persians and engage battle.

When he so expressed his judgment, none opposed him, and

thus his opinion prevailed; for he and not Artabazus had the command of the army given him by the king. He summoned therefore the commanders of the divisions and the generals of those Hellenes who were with him, and asked whether they knew of any oracle regarding the Persians, which said that they should be destroyed in Hellas; and when those summoned to council were silent, some not knowing the oracles and others knowing them but not esteeming it safe to speak, Mardonius himself said: "Since then ye either know nothing or do not venture to speak, I will tell you, since I know very well. There is an oracle saying that the Persians are destined when they come to Hellas to plunder the temple at Delphi, and having plundered it to perish every one of them. We, therefore, just because we know this, will not go to that temple nor will we attempt to plunder it; and for this cause we shall not perish. So many of you, therefore, as chance to wish well to the Persians, have joy so far as regards this matter, and be assured that we shall overcome the Hellenes." Having spoken to them thus, he next commanded to prepare everything and to set all in order, since at dawn of the next day a battle would be fought.

Now this oracle, which Mardonius said referred to the Persians, I know for my part was composed with reference to the Illyrians and the army of the Enchelians, and not with reference to the Persians at all. However, the oracle which was composed by Bakis with reference to this battle, —

The gathering of Hellenes together and cry of barbarian voices,
Where the Thermodon flows, by the banks of grassy Asopos;
Here very many shall fall ere destiny gave them to perish,
Medes bow-bearing in fight, when the fatal day shall approach them,—

these sayings, and others like them composed by Musaius, I know had reference to the Persians. Now the river Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas.

After the inquiry about the oracles and the exhortation given by Mardonius, night came on and the guards were set: and when night was far advanced, and it seemed that there was quiet everywhere in the camps, and that the men were in their deepest sleep, then Alexander the son of Amyntas, commander and king of the Macedonians, rode his horse up to the guard-posts of the Athenians and requested that he might have speech with their generals. So while the greater number of the guards stayed in their posts, some ran to the generals, and when they reached them they said that a man had come riding on a horse out of the camp of the Medes, who discovered nothing further, but only named the generals and said that he desired to have speech with them.

Having heard this, forthwith they accompanied the men to the guard-posts, and when they had arrived there, Alexander thus spoke to them: "Athenians, I lay up these words of mine as a trust with you, charging you to keep them secret and tell them to no one except only to Pausanias, lest ye bring me to ruin: for I should not utter them if I did not care greatly for the general safety of Hellas, seeing that I am a Hellene myself by original descent and I should not wish to see Hellas enslaved instead of free. I say then that Mardonius and his army cannot get the offerings to be according to their mind, for otherwise ye would long ago have fought. Now, however, he has resolved to let the offerings alone and to bring on a battle at dawn of day; for, as I conjecture, he fears lest ye should assemble in greater numbers. Therefore prepare yourselves; and if after all Mardonius should put off the battle and not bring it on, stay where ye are and hold out patiently; for they have provisions only for a few days remaining. And if this war shall have its issue according to your mind, then each one of you ought to remember me also concerning liberation, since I have done for the sake of the Hellenes so hazardous a deed by reason of my zeal for you, desiring to show you the design of Mar-

donius, in order that the barbarians may not fall upon you when ye are not as yet expecting them: and I am Alexander the Macedonian." Thus having spoken he rode away back to the camp and to his own position.

Then the generals of the Athenians came to the right wing and told Pausanias that which they had heard from Alexander. Upon this saying he being struck with fear of the Persians spoke as follows: "Since then at dawn the battle comes on, it is right that ye, Athenians, should take your stand opposite to the Persians, and we opposite to the Bœotians and those Hellenes who are now posted against you; and for this reason, namely because ye are acquainted with the Medes and with their manner of fighting, having fought with them at Marathon, whereas we have had no experience of these men and are without knowledge of them; for not one of the Spartans has made trial of the Medes in fight, but of the Bœotians and Thessalians we have had experience. It is right therefore that ye should take up your arms and come to this wing of the army, and that we should go to the left wing." In answer to this the Athenians spoke as follows: "To ourselves, also, long ago at the very first, when we saw that the Persians were being ranged opposite to you, it occurred to say these very things, which ye now bring forward before we have uttered them; but we feared lest these words might not be pleasing to you. Since, however, ye yourselves have made mention of this, know that your words have caused us pleasure, and that we are ready to do this which ye say."

Both then were content to do this, and as dawn appeared they began to change their positions with one another: and the Bœotians perceiving that which was being done reported it to Mardonius, who, when he heard it, forthwith himself also endeavored to change positions, bringing the Persians along so as to be against the Lacedemonians: and when Pausanias learnt that this was being so done, he perceived that he was not unobserved, and

he led the Spartans back again to the right wing; and just so also did Mardonius upon his left. . . .

Then Mardonius, when he was informed that the Hellenes had departed during the night, and when he saw their place deserted, called Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, and said: "Sons of Aleuas, will ye yet say anything now that ye see these places deserted? For ye who dwell near them were wont to say that the Lacedemonians did not fly from a battle, but were men unsurpassed in war; and these men ye not only saw before this changing from their post, but now we all of us see that they have run away during the past night; and by this they showed clearly, when the time came for them to contend in battle with those who were in truth the best of all men, that after all they were men of no worth, who had been making a display of valor among Hellenes, a worthless race. As for you, since ye had had no experience of the Persians, I for my part was very ready to excuse you when ye praised these, of whom after all ye knew something good; but much more I marvelled at Artabazus that he should have been afraid of the Lacedemonians, and that having been afraid he should have uttered that most cowardly opinion, namely that we ought to move our army away and go to the city of the Thebans to be besieged there, — an opinion about which the king shall yet be informed by me. Of these things we will speak in another place; now however we must not allow them to act thus, but we must pursue them until they are caught and pay the penalty to us for all that they did to the Persians in time past." . . .

These then perished thus ingloriously; and meanwhile the Persians and the rest of the throng, having fled for refuge to the palisade, succeeded in getting up to the towers before the Lacedemonians came; and having got up they strengthened the wall of defence as best they could. Then when the Lacedemonians came up to attack it, there began between them a vigorous fight

for the wall: for so long as the Athenians were away, they defended themselves and had much the advantage over the Lacedemonians, since these did not understand the art of fighting against walls; but when the Athenians came up to help them, then there was a fierce fight for the wall, lasting for a long time, and at length by valor and endurance the Athenians mounted up on the wall and made a breach in it, through which the Hellenes poured in. Now the Tegeans were the first who entered the wall, and these were they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking, besides the other things which were in it, also the manger of his horse, which was all of bronze and a sight worth seeing. This manger of Mardonius was dedicated by the Tegeans as an offering in the temple of Athene Alea, but all the other things which they took, they brought to the common stock of the Hellenes. The barbarians, however, after the wall had been captured, no longer formed themselves into any close body, nor did any of them think of making resistance, but they were utterly at a loss, as you might expect from men who were in a panic with many myriads of them shut up together in a small space: and the Hellenes were able to slaughter them so that out of an army of thirty myriads, if those four be subtracted which Artabazus took with him in his flight, of the remainder not three thousand men survived. Of the Lacedemonians from Sparta there were slain in the battle ninety-one in all, of the Tegeans sixteen, and of the Athenians two-and-fifty. . . .

He having heard this went his way; and Pausanias made a proclamation that none should lay hands upon the spoil, and he ordered the helots to collect the things together. They accordingly dispersed themselves about the camp and found tents furnished with gold and silver, and beds overlaid with gold and overlaid with silver, and mixing-bowls of gold, and cups and other drinking vessels. They found also sacks laid upon wagons, in which there proved to be caldrons both of gold and of silver; and from the dead bodies which lay there they stripped bracelets and collars,

and also their swords if they were of gold, for as to embroidered raiment, there was no account made of it. Then the helots stole many of the things and sold them to the Eginetans, but many things also they delivered up, as many of them as they could not conceal; so that the great wealth of the Eginetans first came from this, that they bought the gold from the helots making pretence that it was brass.

Then having brought the things together, and having set apart a tithe for the god at Delphi, with which the offering was dedicated of the golden tripod which rests upon the three-headed serpent of bronze and stands close by the altar, and also for the god at Olympia, with which they dedicated the offering of a bronze statue of Zeus ten cubits high, and finally for the god at the Isthmus, with which was made a bronze statue of Poseidon seven cubits high, — having set apart these things, they divided the rest, and each took that which they ought to have, including the concubines of the Persians and the gold and the silver and the other things, and also the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those of them who had proved themselves the best men at Platæa is not reported by any, though for my part I suppose that gifts were made to these also; Pausanias, however, had ten of each thing set apart and given to him, that is women, horses, talents, camels, and so also of the other things.

It is said, moreover, that this was done which here follows, namely that Xerxes in his flight from Hellas had left to Mardonius the furniture of his own tent, and Pausanias accordingly seeing the furniture of Mardonius furnished with gold and silver and hangings of different colors, ordered the bakers and the cooks to prepare a meal as they were used to do for Mardonius. Then when they did this as they had been commanded, it is said that Pausanias seeing the couches of gold and of silver with luxurious coverings, and the tables of gold and of silver, and the magnificent apparatus of the feast, was astonished at the good things set before him, and

for sport he ordered his own servants to prepare a Laconian meal, and as, when the banquet was served, the difference between the two was great, Pausanias laughed and sent for the commanders of the Hellenes; and when these had come together, Pausanias said, pointing to the preparation of the two meals severally: "Hellenes, for this reason I assembled you together, because I desired to show you the senselessness of this leader of the Medes, who, having such fare as this, came to us who have such sorry fare as ye see here, in order to take it away from us." Thus it is said that Pausanias spoke to the commanders of the Hellenes.

However, in later time after these events many of the Platæans, also, found chests of gold and of silver and of other treasures; and, moreover, afterwards this which follows was seen in the case of the dead bodies here, after the flesh had been stripped off from the bones; for the Platæans brought together the bones all to one place: there was found, I say, a skull with no suture but all of one bone, and there was seen also a jaw-bone, that is to say the upper part of the jaw, which had teeth joined together and all of one bone, both the teeth that bite and those that grind; and the bones were seen, also, of a man five cubits high.

The body of Mardonius, however, had disappeared on the day after the battle, taken by whom I am not able with certainty to say, but I have heard the names of many men of various cities who are said to have buried Mardonius, and I know that many received gifts from Artontes the son of Mardonius for having done this: who he was, however, who took up and buried the body of Mardonius, I am not able for certain to discover, but Dionysophanes an Ephesian is reported with some show of reason to have been he who buried Mardonius.

He, then, was buried in some such manner as this: and the Hellenes when they had divided the spoil at Platæa proceeded to bury their dead, each nation apart by themselves. The Spartans made for themselves three several burial-places, one in which they

buried the younger Spartans, of whom also were Poseidonius, Amompharetus, Philokyon, and Callicrates, — in one of the graves, I say, were laid the younger men, in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. These, then, thus buried their dead; but the Tegeans buried theirs all together in a place apart from these, and the Athenians theirs together; and the Megarians and Phliasians those who had been slain by the cavalry. Of all these the burial-places had bodies laid in them, but as to the burial-places of other states which are to be seen at Platæa, these, as I am informed, are all mere mounds of earth without any bodies in them, raised by the several peoples on account of posterity, because they were ashamed of their absence from the fight; for among others there is one there called the burial-place of the Eginetans, which I hear was raised at the request of the Eginetans by Cleades the son of Autodicus, a man of Platæa who was their public guest-friend, no less than ten years after these events.

QUESTIONS

1. Did Xerxes give up the idea of conquering the Greeks after Salamis? 2. Were the Persians disheartened by their previous defeats? 3. What kind of a man does Mardonius appear to have been? 4. Is there anything definite in the predictions of the oracles? 5. How much is probably true in the incident of Alexander the Macedonian? 6. Can we feel certain that he used just the language recorded by Herodotus? 7. What do you say to the statement attributed to Pausanias concerning the Athenians? 8. Were the Persians, according to Herodotus' account, afraid of the Spartans? 9. What proof do you find in the extracts of the wealth of the Persian commanders? 10. What did the Greeks do with the booty? 11. What do you think of the story concerning Pausanias and the two meals? 12. How did Herodotus get the most of his information about the Persian wars? 13. Did he get his information about the battle of Platæa from Persians, Spartans, or Athenians? 14. Why could he not find out with certainty who buried Mardonius?

5. Mycale

Herodotus, IX, 96–104

1. Now when the sacrifices were favorable to the Hellenes, they put their ships to sea from Delos to go to Samos; and having arrived off Calamisa in Samos, they moored their ships there opposite the temple of Hera which is at this place, and made preparations for a sea-fight; but the Persians, being informed that they were sailing thither, put out to sea also and went over to the mainland with their remaining ships (those of the Phœnicians having been already sent away to sail home): for deliberating of the matter they thought it good not to fight a battle by sea, since they did not think that they were a match for the enemy. And they sailed away to the mainland in order that they might be under the protection of their land-army which was in Mycale, a body which had stayed behind the rest of the army by command of Xerxes and was keeping watch over Ionia: of this the number was six myriads and the commander of it was Tigranes, who in beauty and stature excelled the other Persians. The commanders of the fleet then had determined to take refuge under the protection of this army, and to draw up their ships on shore and put an enclosure round as a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves.

Having thus determined they began to put out to sea; and they came along by the temple of the "revered goddesses" to the Gaison and to Scolopœis in Mycale, where there is a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter, which Philistus, the son of Pasicles, erected when he had accompanied Neileus the son of Codrus for the founding of Miletus; and there they drew up their ships on shore and put an enclosure round them of stones and timber, cutting down fruit-trees for this purpose, and they fixed stakes round the enclosure and made their preparations either for being besieged or for gaining a victory, for in making their preparations they reckoned for both chances.

The Hellenes, however, when they were informed that the barbarians had gone away to the mainland, were vexed because they thought that they had escaped; and they were in a difficulty what they should do, whether they should go back home, or sail down towards the Hellespont. At last they resolved to do neither of these two things, but to sail on to the mainland. Therefore when they had prepared as for a sea-fight both boarding-bridges and all other things that were required, they sailed toward Mycale; and when they came near to the camp and no one was seen to put out against them, but they perceived ships drawn up within the wall and a large land-army ranged along the shore, then first Leotychides, sailing along in his ship and coming as near to the shore as he could, made proclamation by a herald to the Ionians, saying: "Ionians, those of you who chance to be within hearing of me, attend to this which I say: for the Persians will not understand anything at all of that which I enjoin to you. When we join battle, each one of you must remember first the freedom of all, and the watchword 'Hebe'; and this let him, also, who has not heard know from him who has heard." The design in this act was the same as that of Themistocles at Artemision; for it was meant that either the words uttered should escape the knowledge of the barbarians and persuade the Ionians, or that they should be reported afterwards to the barbarians and make them distrustful of the Hellenes.

After Leotychides had thus suggested, then next the Hellenes proceeded to bring their ships up to land, and they disembarked upon the shore. These, then, were ranging themselves for fight; and the Persians, when they saw the Hellenes preparing for battle and also that they had given exhortation to the Ionians, in the first place deprived the Samians of their arms, suspecting that they were inclined to the side of the Hellenes; for when the Athenian prisoners, the men whom the army of Xerxes had found left behind in Attica, had come in the ships of the barbarians, the

Fig. 10. Northwest Corner of the Parthenon

Samians had ransomed all these and sent them back to Athens, supplying them with means for their journey; and for this reason especially they were suspected, since they had ransomed five hundred persons of the enemies of Xerxes. Then secondly the Persians appointed the Milesians to guard the passes which lead to the summits of Mycale, on the pretext that they knew the country best, but their true reason for doing this was that they might be out of camp. Against these of the Ionians, who, as they suspected, would make some hostile move if they found the occasion, the Persians sought to secure themselves in the manner mentioned; and they themselves then brought together their wicker-work shields to serve them as a fence.

Then when the Hellenes had made all their preparations, they proceeded to the attack of the barbarians; and as they went, a rumor came suddenly to their whole army, and at the same time a herald's staff was found lying upon the beach; and the rumor went through their army to this effect, namely that the Hellenes were fighting in Bœotia and conquering the army of Mardonius. Now by many signs is the divine power seen in earthly things, and by this among others, namely that now, when the day of the defeat at Platæa and of that which was about to take place at Mycale happened to be the same, a rumor came to the Hellenes here, so that the army was encouraged much more and was more eagerly desirous to face the danger.

Moreover this other thing by coincidence happened besides, namely that there was a sacred enclosure of the Eleusinian Demeter close by the side of both the battle-fields; for not only in the Platæan land did the fight take place close by the side of the temple of Demeter, as I have before said, but also in Mycale it was to be so likewise. And whereas the rumor which came to them said that a victory had been already gained by the Hellenes with Pausanias, this proved to be a true report; for that which was done at Platæa came about while it was yet early morning, but the

fighting at Mycale took place in the afternoon; and that it happened on the same day of the same month as the other became evident to them not long afterwards, when they inquired into the matter. Now they had been afraid before the rumor arrived, not for themselves so much as for the Hellenes generally, lest Hellas should stumble and fall over Mardonius; but when this report had come suddenly to them, they advanced on the enemy much more vigorously and swiftly than before. The Hellenes then and the barbarians were going with eagerness into the battle, since both the islands and the Hellespont were placed before them as prizes of the contest.

Now for the Athenians and those who were ranged next to them, to the number perhaps of half the whole army, the road lay along the sea-beach and over level ground, while the Lacedemonians and those ranged in order by these were compelled to go by a ravine and along the mountain side: so while the Lacedemonians were yet going round, those upon the other wing were already beginning the fight; and as long at the wicker-work shields of the Persians still remained upright, they continued to defend themselves and had rather the advantage in the fight; but when the troops of the Athenians and of those ranged next to them, desiring that the achievement should belong to them and not to the Lacedemonians, with exhortations to one another set themselves more vigorously to the work, then from that time forth the fortune of the fight was changed; for these pushed aside the wicker-work shields and fell upon the Persians with a rush all in one body, and the Persians sustained their first attack and continued to defend themselves for a long time, but at last they fled to the wall; and the Athenians, Corinthians, Sikyonians and Troizenians, for that was the order in which they were ranged, followed close after them and rushed in together with them to the space within the wall: and when the wall too had been captured, then the barbarians no longer betook themselves to resistance, but began at once to take

flight, excepting only the Persians, who formed into small groups and continued to fight with the Hellenes as they rushed in within the wall. Of the commanders of the Persians two made their escape and two were slain; Artaÿntes and Ithamitres commanders of the fleet escaped, while Mardontes and the commander of the land-army, Tigranes, were slain.

Now while the Persians were still fighting, the Lacedemonians and those with them arrived, and joined in carrying through the rest of the work; and of the Hellenes themselves many fell there and especially many of the Sikyonians, together with their commander Perilaos. And those of the Samians who were serving in the army, being in the camp of the Medes and having been deprived of their arms, when they saw that from the very first the battle began to be doubtful, did as much as they could, endeavoring to give assistance to the Hellenes; and the other Ionians seeing that the Samians had set the example, themselves also upon that made revolt from the Persians and attacked the barbarians.

The Milesians too had been appointed to watch the passes of the Persians in order to secure their safety, so that if that should after all come upon them which actually came, they might have guides and so get safe away to the summits of Mycale, — the Milesians, I say, had been appointed to do this, not only for that end but also for fear that, if they were present in the camp, they might make some hostile move: but they did in fact the opposite of that which they were appointed to do; for they not only directed them in the flight by other than the right paths, by paths indeed which led towards the enemy, but also at last they themselves became their worst foes and began to slay them. Thus then for the second time Ionia revolted from the Persians.

QUESTIONS

1. Was it possible for the Greeks fighting at Mycale to know on the same day of the victory at Platæa? 2. How could Herodotus believe

such a thing possible? 3. Would it be possible to-day for armies so far apart to be informed within a few hours of each other's doings? 4. Was the battle of Mycale a naval battle? 5. Give a brief outline of the battle. 6. Is it probable that the Persians did not understand Greek? 7. Were the Persians good fighters? 8. Who did the best work among the Greeks? 9. Where did Herodotus probably obtain his information about the battle?

B. The War with Carthage

Herodotus, VII, 165–167

1. The story which here follows is also reported by those who dwell in Sicily, namely that, even though he was to be under the command of the Lacedemonians, Gelon would have come to the assistance of the Hellenes, but that Terillos, the son of Crinippos and despot of Himera, having been driven out of Himera by Theron the son of Ainesidemos the ruler of the Agrigentines, was just at this very time bringing in an army of Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Elisycans, Sardinians, and Corsicans, to the number of thirty myriads, with Amilcas the son of Annon king of the Carthaginians as their commander, whom Terillos had persuaded partly by reason of his own guest-friendship, and especially by the zealous assistance of Anaxilaos the son of Cretines, who was despot of Rhegion, and who to help his father-in-law endeavored to bring in Amilcas to Sicily, and had given him his sons as hostages; for Anaxilaos was married to the daughter of Terillos, whose name was Kydippe. Thus it was, they say, that Gelon was not able to come to the assistance of the Hellenes, and sent therefore the money to Delphi.

In addition to this they report also that, as it happened, Gelon and Theron were victorious over Amilcas the Carthaginian on the very same day when the Hellenes were victorious at Salamis over the Persian. And this Amilcas, who was a Carthaginian on the father's side but on the mother's a Syracusan, and who had

become king of the Carthaginians by merit, when the engagement took place and he was being worsted in the battle, disappeared, as I am informed; for neither alive nor dead did he appear again anywhere upon the earth, though Gelon used all diligence in the search for him.

Moreover there is also this story reported by the Carthaginians themselves, who therein relate that which is probable in itself, namely that while the barbarians fought with the Hellenes in Sicily from the early morning till late in the afternoon (for to such a length the combat is said to have been protracted), during this time Amilcas was remaining in the camp and was making sacrifices to get good omens of success, offering whole bodies of victims upon a great pyre: and when he saw that there was a rout of his own army, he being then, as it chanced, in the act of pouring a libation over the victims, threw himself into the fire, and thus he was burnt up and disappeared. Amilcas then having disappeared, whether it was in such a manner as this, as it is reported by the Phœnicians, or in some other way, the Carthaginians both offer sacrifices to him now, and also they made memorials of him then in all the cities of their colonies, and the greatest in Carthage itself.

QUESTIONS

1. Were the Greeks of the west, in Sicily, in sympathy with the Greeks of the east in this struggle against the Persians? 2. Why did they not aid them? 3. Who were the enemies of the Greeks in the west? 4. What were the Greeks of Sicily fighting for? 5. What was the result of the struggle? 6. Does the information of Herodotus concerning the war in the west seem definite and reliable?

VI. THE SUPREMACY OF ATHENS

A. The Confederacy of Delos

a. The Rebuilding of Athens

Thucydides, I, 89–93

1. How the Athenians attained the position in which they rose to greatness I will now proceed to describe. When the Persians, defeated by the Hellenes on sea and land, had retreated from Europe, and the remnant of the fleet, which had taken refuge at Mycale, had there perished, Leotychides, the Lacedemonian king, who had commanded the Hellenes in the battle, returned home with the allies from Peloponnesus. But the Athenians and their allies from Ionia and the Hellespont, who had now revolted from the king, persevered and besieged Sestos, at that time still in the hands of the Persians. Remaining there through the winter they took the place, which the barbarians deserted. The allies then sailed back from the Hellespont to their respective homes. Meanwhile the Athenian people, now quit of the barbarians, fetched their wives, their children, and the remains of their property from the places in which they had been deposited, and set to work, rebuilding the city and the walls. Of the old line of wall but a small part was left standing. Most of the houses were in ruins, a few only remaining in which the chief men of the Persians had lodged.

The Lacedemonians knew what would happen and sent an embassy to Athens. They would rather themselves have seen neither the Athenians nor any one else protected by a wall; but their main motive was the importunity of their allies, who dreaded not only the Athenian navy, which had until lately been quite small, but also the spirit which had animated them in the Persian

war. So the Lacedemonians requested them not to restore their walls, but on the contrary to join with them in razing the fortifications of other towns outside the Peloponnesus which had them standing. They did not reveal their real wishes or the suspicion which they entertained of the Athenians, but argued that the barbarian, if he again attacked them, would then have no strong place which he could make his headquarters as he had lately made Thebes. Peloponnesus would be a sufficient retreat for all Hellas and a good base of operations. To this the Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, replied, that they would send an embassy of their own to discuss the matter, and so get rid of the Spartan envoys. He then proposed that he should himself start at once for Sparta, and that they should give him colleagues who were not to go immediately, but were to wait until the wall reached the lowest height which could possibly be defended. The whole people who were in the city, men, women, and children, should join in the work and they must spare no building, private or public, which could be of use, but demolish them all. Having given these instructions and intimated that he would manage affairs at Sparta, he departed. On his arrival, he did not at once present himself officially to the magistrates, but delayed and made excuses; and when any of them asked him "why he did not appear before the assembly," he said "that he was waiting for his colleagues, who had been detained by some engagement; he was daily expecting them, and wondered that they had not appeared."

The friendship of the Lacedemonian magistrates for Themistocles induced them to believe him; but when everybody who came from Athens declared positively that the wall was building and had already reached a considerable height, they knew not what to think. He, aware of their suspicions, desired them not to be misled by reports, but to send to Athens men whom they could trust out of their own number who would see for themselves and bring back word. They agreed; and he at the same time privately

instructed the Athenians to detain the envoys as quietly as they could, and not let them go until he and his colleagues had got safely home. For by this time Habronichus the son of Lysicles, and Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who were joined with him in the embassy, had arrived, bringing the news that the wall was of sufficient height; and he was afraid that the Lacedemonians, when they heard the truth, might not allow them to return. So the Athenians detained the envoys, and Themistocles, coming before the Lacedemonians, at length declared in so many words that Athens was now provided with walls and could protect her citizens; henceforward, if the Lacedemonians or their allies wished at any time to negotiate, they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was for their own and the common good. When they boldly resolved to leave their city and go on board ship, they did not first ask the advice of the Lacedemonians, and, when the two states met in council, their own judgment had been as good as that of any one. And now they had arrived at an independent opinion that it was better far, and would be more advantageous both for themselves and for the whole body of the allies, that their city should have a wall; when any member of a confederacy had not equal military advantages, his counsel could not be of equal weight or worth. Either all the allies should pull down their walls, or they should acknowledge that the Athenians were in the right.

On hearing these words, the Lacedemonians did not openly quarrel with the Athenians; for they professed that the embassy had been designed, not to interfere with them, but to offer a suggestion for the public good; besides at that time the patriotism which the Athenians had displayed in the Persian war had created a warm feeling of friendliness between the two cities. They were annoyed at the failure of their purpose, but they did not show it. And the envoys on either side returned home without any formal complaint.

In such hurried fashion did the Athenians build the walls of their city. To this day, the structure shows evidence of haste. The foundations are made up of all sorts of stones, in some places unwrought, and laid just as each worker brought them; there were many columns too, taken from sepulchres, and many old stones already cut, inserted in the work. The circuit of the city was extended in every direction, and the citizens, in their ardor to complete the design, spared nothing.

Themistocles also persuaded the Athenians to finish the Piræus, of which he had made a beginning in his year of office as archon. The situation of the place, which had three natural havens, was excellent; and now that the Athenians had become seamen, he thought that they had great advantage for the attainment of empire. For he first dared to say that "they must make the sea their domain," and he lost no time in laying the foundations of their empire. By his advice, they built the wall of such a width that two wagons carrying the stones could meet and pass on the top; this width may still be traced at the Piræus; inside there was no rubble or mortar, but the whole wall was made up of large stones hewn square, which were clamped on the outer face with iron and lead. The height was not more than half what he had originally intended; he had hoped by the very dimensions of the wall to paralyze the designs of an enemy, and he thought that a handful of the least efficient citizens would suffice for its defence, while the rest might man the fleet. His mind was turned in this direction, as I conceive, from observing that the king's armament had met with fewer obstacles by sea than by land. The Piræus appeared to him to be of more real consequence than the upper city. He was fond of telling the Athenians that if ever they were hard pressed on land they should go down to the Piræus and fight the world at sea.

Thus the Athenians built their walls and restored their city immediately after the retreat of the Persians.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was it important for the Greeks that the Persians should be driven from Sestos? 2. In the closing act of the war, as related in the extract, what state acted as the leader of the Greeks? 3. What was the attitude of Sparta toward the rebuilding of the walls of Athens? 4. Why did it take this attitude? 5. How did Athens rebuild its walls in spite of Sparta? 6. What do you think of the methods employed by Themistocles? 7. Describe the policy that Themistocles wished the Athenian state to follow and what steps were taken to realize that policy. 8. Where did Thucydides get his information about the rebuilding of Athens? 9. Is it valuable?

b. Formation of the Confederacy

Thucydides, I, 94–102

1. Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus was now sent from Peloponnesus with twenty ships in command of the Hellenic forces; thirty Athenian ships and a number of the allies sailed with him. They first made an expedition against Cyprus of which they subdued the greater part; and afterwards against Byzantium, which was in the hands of the Persians, and was taken while he was still in command.

He had already begun to be oppressive, and the allies were offended with him, especially the Ionians and others who had been recently emancipated from the king. So they had recourse to their kinsmen the Athenians and begged them to be their leaders, and to protect them against Pausanias, if he attempted to oppress them. The Athenians took the matter up and prepared to interfere, being fully resolved to manage the confederacy in their own way. In the meantime the Lacedemonians summoned Pausanias to Sparta, intending to investigate certain reports which had reached them; for he was accused of numerous crimes by Hellenes returning from the Hellespont, and appeared to exercise his command more

after the fashion of a tyrant than of a general. His recall occurred at the very time when the hatred which he inspired had induced the allies, with the exception of the Peloponnesians, to transfer themselves to the Athenians. On arriving at Lacedemon he was punished for the wrongs which he had done to particular persons, but he had been also accused of conspiring with the Persians, and of this, which was the principal charge and was generally believed to be proven, he was acquitted. The government, however, did not continue him in his command, but sent in his place Dorcis and certain others with a small force. To these the allies refused allegiance, and Dorcis, seeing the state of affairs, returned home. Henceforth the Lacedemonians sent out no more commanders, for they were afraid that those whom they appointed would be corrupted, as they had found to be the case with Pausanias; they had had enough of the Persian war; and they thought that the Athenians were fully able to lead, and at that time believed them to be their friends.

Thus the Athenians by the good-will of the allies, who detested Pausanias, obtained the leadership. They immediately fixed which of the cities should supply money and which of them ships for the war against the barbarians, the avowed object being to compensate themselves and the allies for their losses by devastating the king's country. Then was first instituted at Athens the office of Hellenic treasurers (Hellenotamiæ), who received the tribute, for so the contributions were termed. The amount was originally fixed at 460 talents. The island of Delos was the treasury, and the meetings of the allies were held in the temple.

At first the allies were independent and deliberated in a common assembly under the leadership of Athens. But in the interval between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars, by their military success and by policy in dealing with the barbarian, with their own rebellious allies and with the Peloponnesians who came

across their path from time to time, the Athenians made immense strides in power. I have gone out of my way to speak of this period because the writers who have preceded me treat either of Hellenic affairs previous to the Persian invasion or of that invasion itself; the intervening portion of history has been omitted by all of them, with the exception of Hellanicus; and he, where he has touched upon it in his Attic history, is very brief, and inaccurate in his chronology. The narrative will also serve to explain how the Athenian empire grew up.

First of all under the leadership of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the Athenians besieged and took Eion upon the Strymon, then in the hands of the Persians, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. The same fate befell Scyros, an island in the Ægean inhabited by Dolopes; this they colonized themselves. They also made war on the Carystians of Eubœa, who, after a time, capitulated; the other Eubœans took no part in the war. Then the Naxians revolted, and the Athenians made war against them and reduced them by blockade. This was the first of the allied cities which was enslaved contrary to Hellenic right; the turn of the others came later.

The causes which led to the defections of the allies were of different kinds, the principal being their neglect to pay the tribute or to furnish ships, and, in some cases, failure of military service. For the Athenians were exacting and oppressive, using coercive measures towards men who were neither willing nor accustomed to work hard. And for various reasons they soon began to prove less agreeable leaders than at first. They no longer fought upon an equality with the rest of the confederates, and they had no difficulty in reducing them when they revolted. Now the allies brought all this upon themselves; for the majority of them disliked military service and absence from home, and so they agreed to contribute their share of the expense instead of ships. Whereby the Athenian navy was proportionally increased, while they them-

selves were always untrained and unprepared for war when they revolted.

A little later the Athenians and their allies fought two battles, one by land and the other by sea, against the Persians, at the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. The Athenians, under the command of Cimon the son of Miltiades, on the same day conquered in both, and took and destroyed all the Phœnician triremes numbering two hundred. After a while the Thasians revolted; a quarrel had arisen between them and the Athenians about the Thracian markets and the mine on the Thracian coast opposite, of which the Thasians received the profits. The Athenians sailed to Thasos and, gaining a victory at sea, landed upon the island. About the same time they sent ten thousand of their own people and of their allies to the Strymon, intending to colonize the place then called the Nine Ways and now Amphipolis. They gained possession of the Nine Ways, which were inhabited by the Edoni, but, advancing into the interior of Thrace, they were destroyed at Drabescus in Edonia by the united Thracians, whose country was threatened by the new settlement.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the object of the offensive policy of the Greeks after the Persians had been defeated at Platæa and Mycale? 2. Why did the Spartans command the allies at first in the offensive operations? 3. How did the leadership pass to the Athenians? 4. Why did the Spartans not try to retain the leadership of the Greeks? 5. Describe the organization of the Confederacy of Delos. 6. Why was it given that name? 7. What change gradually took place in the confederacy and what was the cause? 8. What methods were employed by the Athenians in preventing the dissolution of the confederacy? 9. What was lost in maintaining unity in this way? 10. Was the change at first a change of form or of spirit? 11. What would you call the new government?

B. The Athenian Constitution after the Persian Wars

Aristotle, *On the Athenian Constitution*, Chs. 23–27

1. Up to this point had the city progressed by this time in gradual growth, the democracy growing with it; but after the Persian wars the council of Areopagus once more developed strength and assumed the control of the state. It did not acquire this supremacy by virtue of any formal decree, but because it had been the cause of the battle of Salamis being fought. When the generals were utterly at a loss how to meet the crisis and made proclamation that every one must see to his own safety, the Areopagus provided a donation of money, distributing eight drachmas to each member of the ships' crews, and so prevailed on them to go on board. On these grounds it obtained a great advance in public estimation; and during this period Athens was well administered. At this time they devoted themselves to the prosecution of the war and were in high repute among the Greeks, and the command by sea was conferred upon them, in spite of the opposition of the Lacedemonians. The leaders of the people during this period were Aristides, son of Lysimachus, and Themistocles, son of Neocles, of whom the latter devoted himself to the conduct of war, while the former had the reputation of being a clever statesman and the most upright man of his time. Accordingly the one was usually employed as general, the other as a political adviser. The rebuilding of the fortifications they conducted in combination, although they were political opponents; but it was Aristides who guided the public policy in the matter of the defection of the Ionian states and the alliance with Sparta, seizing the opportunity afforded by the discredit brought upon the Lacedemonians by the misconduct of Pausanias. It follows that it was he who arranged the tribute from the various allied states, which was first instituted two years after the battle of Salamis, in the archonship of Timosthenes; and it was he who took the oath of offensive and defen-

sive alliance with the Ionians, on which occasion they cast the masses of iron into the sea.

After this, seeing the state growing in confidence and much wealth accumulated, he advised the people to lay hold of the leadership of the league, and to quit the country districts and settle in the city. He pointed out to them that all would be able to gain a living there, some by service in the army, others in the garrisons, others by taking a part in public affairs; and in this way they would secure the leadership. This advice was taken; and when the people had assumed the supreme control they proceeded to treat their allies in a more imperious fashion, with the exception of the Chians, Lesbians, and Samians. These they maintained to protect their empire, leaving their constitutions untouched, and allowing them to retain whatever dominion they then possessed. They also secured an ample maintenance for the mass of the population in the way which Aristides had pointed out to them. Out of the proceeds of the tributes and the taxes and the contributions of the allies more than twenty thousand persons were maintained. There were 600 jurymen, 1,600 bowmen, 1,200 knights, 500 members of the council, 500 guards of the dockyards, besides fifty guards in the city. There were some 700 magistrates within the city, and some 700 whose jurisdiction lay outside it. Further, when they subsequently went to war, there were in addition 2,500 heavy-armed troops, twenty guard-ships, and other ships which collected the tributes, with crews amounting to 2,000 men, selected by lot; and besides these there were the persons maintained at the Prytaneum, and orphans, and jailers, since all these were supported by the state.

In this way the people earned their livelihood. The supremacy of the Areopagus lasted, however, for about seventeen years after the Persian wars, although gradually declining. But as the strength of the masses increased, Ephialtes, son of Sophonides, a man with a reputation for incorruptibility and possessing a

high public character, who had become the leader of the people, made an attack upon that council. First of all he caused the destruction of many of its members by bringing actions against them with reference to their administration. Then, in the archonship of Conon, he stripped the council of all the acquired prerogatives from which it derived its guardianship of the constitution, and assigned some of them to the council of five hundred, and others to the assembly and the law-courts. In this revolution he was assisted by Themistocles, who was himself a member of the Areopagus, but was expecting to be tried before it on a charge of treasonable dealings with Persia. This made him anxious that it should be overthrown, and accordingly he warned Ephialtes that the council intended to arrest him, while at the same time he informed the Areopagites that he would reveal to them certain persons who were conspiring to subvert the constitution. He then conducted the representatives delegated by the council to the residence of Ephialtes, promising to show them the conspirators who assembled there, and proceeded to converse with them in an earnest manner. Ephialtes, seeing this, was seized with alarm and took refuge in suppliant guise at the altar. Every one was astounded at the occurrence, and presently, when the council of five hundred met, Ephialtes and Themistocles together proceeded to denounce the Areopagus to them. This they repeated in similar fashion in the assembly, until they succeeded in depriving it of its power. Not long afterwards, however, Ephialtes was assassinated by Aristodicus of Tanagra. In this way was the council of Areopagus deprived of its guardianship of the state.

After this revolution the administration of the state became more and more lax, in consequence of the eager rivalry of candidates for popular favor. During this period the moderate party, as it happened, had no real chief, their leader being Cimon, son of Miltiades, who was a comparatively young man, and also was late in entering public life; and at the same time the mass

of the people suffered great losses by war. The soldiers for active service were selected at that time from the roll of citizens, and as the generals were men of no military experience, who owed their position solely to their family standing, it continually happened that some two or three thousand of the troops perished on an expedition; and in this way the best men alike of the lower and the upper classes were exhausted. The result was that in most matters of administration less heed was paid to the laws than had formerly been the case. No alteration, however, was made in the method of election of the nine archons, except that five years after the death of Ephialtes it was decided that the candidates to be submitted to the lot for that office might be selected from the zeugitæ as well as from the higher classes. The first archon from that class was Mnesitheides; up to this time all the archons had been taken from the pentacosiomedimni and knights, while the zeugitæ were confined to the ordinary magistracies, save where an evasion of the law was overlooked. Four years later, in the archonship of Lysicrates, the thirty "local justices," as they were called, were reëstablished; and two years afterwards, in the archonship of Antidotus, in consequence of the great increase in the number of citizens, it was resolved, on the motion of Pericles, that no one should be admitted to the franchise who was not of citizen birth by both parents.

After this Pericles assumed the position of popular leader, having first distinguished himself while still a young man by prosecuting Cimon on the audit of his official accounts as general. Under his auspices the constitution became still more democratic. He took away some of the privileges of the Areopagus, and, above all, he turned the policy of the state in the direction of naval dominion, which caused the masses to acquire confidence in themselves and consequently to take the conduct of affairs more and more into their own hands. Moreover, forty-eight years after the battle of Salamis, in the archonship of Pythodorus, the Peloponnesian war

broke out, during which the populace was shut up in the city and became accustomed to gain its livelihood by military service, and so, partly voluntarily and partly involuntarily determined to assume the administration of the state itself. Pericles was also the first to institute pay for service in the law-courts, as a bid for popular favor to counterbalance the wealth of Cimon. The latter, having private possessions of royal splendor, not only performed the regular public services magnificently, but also maintained a large number of his fellow-demesmen. Any member of the deme of Laciadæ could go every day to Cimon's house and there receive a reasonable provision; and his estate was guarded by no fences, so that any one who liked might help himself to the fruit from it. Pericles' private property was quite unequal to this magnificence, and accordingly he took the advice of Damonides of Oia (who was commonly supposed to be the person who prompted Pericles in most of his measures, and was therefore subsequently ostracized), which was that, as he was beaten in the matter of private possessions, he should make presents to the people from their own property; and accordingly he instituted pay for the members of the juries. Some persons accuse him of thereby causing a deterioration in the character of the juries, since it was always the inferior people who were anxious to submit themselves for selection as jurors, rather than the men of better position. Moreover, bribery came into existence after this, the first person to introduce it being Anytus, after his command at Pylus. He was prosecuted by certain individuals on account of his loss of Pylus, but escaped by bribing the jury.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the most important part of the Athenian constitution, according to Aristotle, during and for sometime after the Persian wars? 2. What connection between this fact and the part played by Themistocles in the last war? 3. Who were the leading statesmen after the wars? 4. What important things did each one accomplish? 5. What

methods did they employ? 6. Make a list of the constitutional changes that were creating a pure democracy in Athens. 7. What were some of the bad features of the new society? 8. What is the value of the above account that is attributed to Aristotle?

C. Athenian Policy towards the Allies

Xenophon, *The Polity of the Athenians*, Ch. 1

1. To speak next of the allies, and in reference to the point that emissaries from Athens come out, and, according to common opinion, calumniate and vent their hatred upon the better sort of people, this is done on the principle that the ruler cannot help being hated by those whom he rules; but that if wealth and respectability are to wield power in the subject cities, the empire of the Athenian people has but a short lease of existence. This explains why the better people are punished with infamy, robbed of their money, driven from their homes, and put to death, while the baser sort are promoted to honor. On the other hand, the better Athenians throw their ægis over the better class in the allied cities. And why? Because they recognize that it is to the interest of their own class at all times to protect the best element in the cities. It may be urged that if it comes to strength and power the real strength of Athens lies in the capacity of her allies to contribute their money quota. But to the democratic mind it appears a higher advantage still for the individual Athenian to get hold of the wealth of the allies, leaving them only enough to live upon and to cultivate their estates, but powerless to harbor treacherous designs.

Again, it is looked upon as a mistaken policy on the part of the Athenian democracy to compel her allies to voyage to Athens in order to have their cases tried. On the other hand, it is easy to reckon up what a number of advantages the Athenian people derives from the practice impugned. In the first place, there is the steady receipt of salaries throughout the year derived from the

court fees. Next, it enables them to manage the affairs of the allied states while seated at home without the expense of naval expeditions. Thirdly, they thus preserve the partisans of the democracy, and ruin her opponents in the law-courts. Whereas, supposing the several allied states tried their cases at home, being inspired by hostility to Athens, they would destroy those of their own citizens whose friendship to the Athenian people was most marked. But besides all this the democracy derives the following advantages from hearing the cases of her allies in Athens. In the first place, the one per cent levied in Piræus is increased to the profit of the state; again, the owner of a lodging-house does better, and so, too, the owner of a pair of beasts, or of slaves to be let out on hire; again, heralds and criers are a class of people who fare better owing to the sojourn of foreigners at Athens. Further still, supposing the allies had not to resort to Athens for the hearing of cases, only the official representative of the imperial state would be held in honor, such as the general, or trierarch, or ambassador. Whereas now every single individual among the allies is forced to pay flattery to the people of Athens because he knows that he must betake himself to Athens and win or lose his case at the bar, not of any stray set of judges, but of the sovereign people itself, such being the law and custom at Athens. He is compelled to behave as a suppliant in the courts of justice, and when some juryman comes into court, to grasp his hand. For this reason, therefore, the allies find themselves more and more in the position of slaves to the people of Athens.

Furthermore, owing to the possession of property beyond the limits of Attica, and the exercise of magistracies which take them into regions beyond the frontier, they and their attendants have insensibly acquired the art of navigation. A man who is perpetually voyaging is forced to handle the oar, he and his domestic alike, and to learn the terms familiar in seamanship. Hence a stock of skilful mariners is produced, bred upon a wide experience

of voyaging and practice. They have learnt their business, some in piloting a small craft, others a merchant vessel, whilst others have been drafted off from these for service on a ship-of-war. So that the majority of them are able to row the moment they set foot on board a vessel, having been in a state of preliminary practice all their lives.

QUESTIONS

1. What two parties in Athens represented two different policies towards the allies? 2. What were these policies? 3. What did the Athenians gain from their control of the allies? 4. How did the allies evidently feel about Athenian control? 5. Where did Xenophon obtain his information about the Athenians and their allies? 6. Is he friendly to the people of Athens? 7. How much of what he says is probably true, how much should be accepted only when supported by other evidence, and how much is simply his opinion or the opinion of those hostile to Athens? 8. Do we know that this account was written by Xenophon?

D. Greek Life and Thought as reflected in the Drama

Sophocles, *Œdipus the King*, 863–910, Stroph. I

1. Would 'twere my lot to lead
My life in holiest purity of speech,
In purity of deed,
Of deed and word whose laws high-soaring reach
Through all the vast concave,
Heaven-born, Olympos their one only sire!
To these, man never gave
The breath of life, nor shall they e'er expire
In dim oblivion cold:
In these God shows as great and never waxeth old.

Sophocles, *Œdipus the King*, 863–910, Stroph. II

2. But if there be who walks too haughtily
In action or in speech,
Who the great might of justice dares defy,

Whom nought can reverence teach,
Ill fate be his for that his ill-starred scorn,
Unless he choose to win
Henceforth the gain that is of justice born,
And holds aloof from sin,
Nor lays rash hand on things inviolable.
Who now will strive to guard
His soul against the darts of passion fell?
If such deeds gain reward,
What boots it yet again
In choral dance to chant my wonted strain?

Sophocles, *Œdipus at Colonos*, 668–718, Stroph. I

3. Yes, thou art come, O guest,
Where our dear land is brightest of the bright,
Land in its good steeds blest,
Our home, Colonos, gleaming fair and white;
The nightingale still haunteth all our woods
Green with the flush of spring,
And sweet melodious floods
Of softest song through grove and thicket ring;
She dwelleth in the shade
Of glossy ivy, dark as purpling wine,
And the untrodden glade
Of trees that hang their myriad fruit divine,
Unscathed by blast of storm;
Here Dionysus finds his dear-loved home,
Here, revel-flushed, his form
Is wont with those his fair nurse-nymphs to roam.

Antistroph. I

Here, as Heaven drops its dew,
Narcissus grows with fair bells clustered o'er,
Wreath to the Dread Ones due,
The mighty goddesses whom we adore;
And here is seen the crocus, golden-eyed;

The sleepless streams ne'er fail;
Still wandering on they glide,
And clear Cephisus waters all the vale;
Daily each night and morn
It winds through all the wide and fair champaign,
And pours its flood new-born
From the clear freshets of the fallen rain;
The Muses scorn it not,
But here, rejoicing, their high feast-days hold,
And here, in this blest spot,
Dwells Aphrodite in her car of gold.

Sophocles, *Antigone*, 582–630, Stroph. II

4. What pride of man, O Zeus, in check can hold
Thy power divine,
Which nor sleep seizeth that makes all things old,
Nor the long months of God in endless line?
Thou grow'st not old with time,
But ruling in thy might,
Forever dwellest in thy home sublime,
Olympos, glittering in its sheen of light:
And through the years' long tale,
The far time or the near,
As through the past, this law shall still prevail:
Nought comes to life of man without or woe or fear.

Sophocles, *Electra*, 233–250

5. *Electra.* Nay; but what bounds are set to baseness here?
Come, tell me this, I pray,
How can it e'er be right
Those who are dead to slight?
Where did that law appear?
May I ne'er walk in honor in their way,
Nor if aught good be mine,
Dwell with it happily,
Should I the wings confine

That rise with bitter cry,
And bid them cease to pay
Due reverence to my father past away.
If he who dies be but as dust and nought,
And poor and helpless lie,
And these no vengeance meet for what they wrought,
Then truly awe will die,
And all men lose their natural piety.

Fragments from Sophocles

6. Hast thou done fearful evil? Thou must bear
Evil as fearful; and the holy light
Of righteousness shines clearly.

13

Man is but breath and shadow, nothing more.

94

Strange is it that the godless, who have sprung
From evil-doers, should fare prosperously,
While good men, born of noble stock, should be
By adverse fortune vexed. It was ill done
For the gods thus to order lives of men.
What ought to be is this, that godly souls
Should from the gods gain some clear recompense
And the unjust pay some clear penalty;
So none would prosper who are base of soul.

239

There stretcheth by the sea
A fair Eubœan shore, and o'er it creeps
The vine of Bacchus, each day's growth complete.
In morning brightness all the land is green

FIG. 11. SLAB OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE (NORTH)

With tendrils fair and spreading. Noontide comes,
And then the unripe cluster forms apace;
The day declines, and purple grow the grapes;
At eve the whole bright vintage is brought in,
And the mixed wine poured out.

288

No good e'er comes of leisure purposeless;
And heaven ne'er helps the men who will not act.

298

'Tis only in God's garden men may reap
True joy and blessing.

302

Chance never helps the men who do not work.

311

A mortal man should think things fit for men.

326

The noblest life is that of righteousness;
The best, one free from sickness; sweetest far
To have each day the fill of all we wish.

707

I know that God is ever such as this,
Darkly disclosing counsels to the wise;
But to the simple, speaking fewest words,
Plain teacher found.

709

Thou shalt find a God
Who knoweth not or charity or grace,
But loves strict justice, that and that alone.

Aristophanes, *The Acharnians*, pp. 14–16
Scene: The Pnyx

7. *Dicæopolis.* How many things there are to cross and vex me,
My comforts I compute at four precisely,
My griefs and miseries at a hundred thousand.
Let's see what there has happened to rejoice me
With any real kind of joyfulness;
Come, in the first place I set down five talents,
Which Cleon vomited up again and refunded;
There I rejoiced; I loved the knights for that;
'Twas nobly done, for the interests of all Greece.
But again I suffered cruelly in the theatre
A tragical disappointment. — There was I
Gaping to hear old Æschylus, when the herald
Called out, "Theognis, bring your chorus forward."
Imagine what my feelings must have been!
But then Dexitheus pleased me coming forward
And singing his Bœotian melody:
But next came Chæris with his music truly
That turned me sick, and killed me very nearly.

But never in my lifetime, man nor boy,
Was I so vexed as at this present moment;
To see the Pnyx, at this time of the morning,
Quite empty, when the assembly should be full.
There are our citizens in the market-place,
Lounging and talking, shifting up and down
To escape the painted twine that ought to sweep
The shoal of them this way; not even the presidents
Arrived — they're always last, crowding and jostling

To get the foremost seat; but as for peace
They never think about it. — Oh, poor country!
As for myself, I'm always the first man.
Alone in the morning, here I take my place,
Here I contemplate, here I stretch my legs;
I think and think — I don't know what to think.
I draw conclusions and comparisons,

* * * * * * * *

I fidget about, and yawn and scratch myself;
Looking in vain to the prospect of the fields,
Loathing the city, longing for a peace,
To return to my poor village and my farm,
That never used to cry "Come buy my charcoal!"
Nor, "Buy my oil!" nor "Buy my anything!"
But gave me what I wanted, freely and fairly,
Clear of all cost, with never a word of buying,
Or such buy-words. So here I'm come, resolved
To bawl, to abuse, to interrupt the speakers,
Whenever I hear a word of any kind
Except for an immediate peace. Ah there!
The presidents at last; see, there they come!
All scrambling for their seats — I told you so!
Herald. Move forward there! Move forward all of ye
Further! within the consecrated ground.
Amphitheus. Has anybody spoke?
Herald. Is anybody
Prepared to speak?
Amphitheus. Yes, I.
Herald. Who are you and what?
Amphitheus. Amphitheus the demigod.
Herald. Not a man?
Amphitheus. No, I'm immortal; for the first Amphitheus
Was born of Ceres and Triptolemus,
His only son was Keleüs, Keleüs married
Phænarete my grandmother, Lykinus

My father was their son; that's proof enough
Of the immortality in our family.
The gods moreover have despatched me here
Commissioned specially to arrange a peace
Betwixt this city and Sparta — notwithstanding
I find myself rather in want at present
Of a little ready money for my journey.
The magistrates won't assist me.
Herald. Constables!
Amphitheus. O Keleüs and Triptolemus, don't forsake me!
Dicæopolis. You presidents, I say! you exceed your powers;
You insult the assembly, dragging off a man
That offered to make terms and give us peace.
Herald. Keep silence there!
Dicæopolis. By Jove, but I won't be silent,
Except I hear a motion about peace.

Aristophanes, *The Acharnians*, pp. 38–43

(*In the following lines there is an intentional imitation of the dry, drawling style of* EURIPIDES' *harangues.*)

8. *Dicæopolis.* Be not surprised, most excellent spectators,
If I that am a beggar, have presumed
To claim an audience upon public matters,
Even in a comedy; for comedy
Is conversant in all the rules of justice,
And can distinguish betwixt right and wrong.
The words I speak are bold, but just and true.
Cleon, at least, cannot accuse me now,
That I defame the city before strangers.
For this is the Lenæan festival,
And here we meet, all by ourselves alone;
No deputies are arrived as yet with tribute,
No strangers or allies; but here we sit
A chosen sample, clean as sifted corn,
With our own denizens as a kind of chaff.
First, I detest the Spartans most extremely;

And wish, that Neptune, the Tænarian deity,
Would bury them in their houses with his earthquakes.
For I've had losses — losses, let me tell ye,
Like other people; vines cut down and injured.
But, among friends (for only friends are here),
Why should we blame the Spartans for all this?
For people of ours, some people of our own,
Some people from amongst us here, I mean;
But not the people (pray remember that);
I never said the people — but a pack
Of paltry people, mere pretended citizens,
Base counterfeits, went laying informations,
And making a confiscation of the jerkins
Imported here from Megara; pigs, moreover,
Pumpkins, and pecks of salt, and ropes of onions,
Were voted to be merchandise from Megara,
Denounced, and seized, and sold upon the spot.

* * * * * * * *

So this was the beginning of the war,
For Pericles, like an Olympian Jove,
With all his thunder and his thunderbolts,
Began to storm and lighten dreadfully,
Alarming all the neighborhood of Greece;
And made decrees, drawn up like drinking songs,
In which it was enacted and concluded,
That the Megarians should remain excluded
From every place where commerce was transacted,
With all their ware — like "old care" — in the ballad:
And this decree, by land and sea, was valid.
Then the Megarians, being all half starved,
Desired the Spartans, to desire of us,
Just to repeal those laws. . . .

* * * * * * * *

And so they begged and prayed us several times;
And we refused; and so they went to war.

You'll say, "They should not." Why, what should they have done?
Just make it your own case; suppose the Spartans
Had manned a boat, and landed on your islands,
And stolen a pug puppy from Seriphus;
Would you then have remained at home inglorious?
Not so, by no means; at the first report,
You would have launched at once three hundred galleys,
And filled the city with the noise of troops;
And crews of ships, crowding and clamoring
About the muster-masters and pay-masters;
With measuring corn out at the magazine,
And all the porch choked with the multitude;
With figures of Minerva, newly furbished,
Painted and gilt, parading in the streets;
With wineskins, kegs, and firkins, leeks and onions;
With garlic crammed in pouches, nets, and pokes;
With garlands, singing girls, and bloody noses.
Our arsenal would have sounded and resounded
With bangs and thwacks of driving bolts and nails;
With shaping oars, and holes to put the oar in;
With hacking, hammering, clattering, and boring;
Words of command, whistles and pipes and fifes.
Such would have been your conduct. Will you say,
That Telephus should have acted otherwise?

Aristophanes, *The Acharnians*, pp. 46–47

Parabasis of the Chorus

9. Our poet has never as yet
Esteemed it proper or fit,
To detain you with a long
Encomiastic song,
On his own superior wit.
But being abused and accused,
And attacked of late,
As a foe to the state,
He makes an appeal in his proper defence

To your voluble humor and temper and sense,
With the following plea;
Namely, that he
Never attempted or ever meant
To scandalize
In any wise
Your mighty imperial government.
Moreover he says,
That in various ways
He presumes to have merited honor and praise,
Exhorting you still to stick to your rights,
And no more to be fooled with rhetorical flights;
Such as of late each envoy tries
On the behalf of your allies,
That come to plead their cause before ye,
With fulsome phrase, and a foolish story
Of *violet crowns* and *Athenian glory;*
With *sumptuous Athens* at every word;
Sumptuous Athens is always heard,
Sumptuous ever; a suitable phrase
For a dish of meat or a beast at graze.
He therefore affirms,
In confident terms,
That his active courage and earnest zeal
Have usefully served your common weal:
He has openly shown the style and tone
Of your democracy ruling abroad.
He has placed its practices on record;
The tyrannical arts, the knavish tricks,
That poison all your politics.
Therefore we shall see, this year,
The allies with tribute arriving here,
Eager and anxious all to behold
Their steady protector, the bard so bold:
The bard, they say, that has dared to speak,
To attack the strong, to defend the weak.

Aristophanes, *The Acharnians*, pp. 50–51,

Epirrema

10. We, the veterans of the city, briefly must expostulate
At the hard ungrateful usage which we meet with from the state,
Suffering men of years and service at your bar to stand indicted
Bullied by your beardless speakers, worried and perplexed and frighted;
Aided only by their staff, the staff on which their steps are stayed;
Old and impotent and empty; deaf, decrepit, and decayed.
There they stand and pore and drivel, with a misty purblind gleam,
Scarce discerning the tribunal, in a kind of waking dream.
Then the stripling, their accuser, fresh from training, bold and quick,
Pleads in person, fencing, sparring, using every turn and trick;
Grappling with the feeble culprit, dragging him to dangerous ground,
Into pitfalls of dilennas, to perplex him and confound.
Then the wretched invalid attempts an answer, and at last,
After stammering and mumbling, goes away condemned and cast;
Moaning to his friends and neighbors, "All the little store I have,
All is gone! my purchase-money for a coffin and my grave."

Antistrophe

Scandalous and a shame it is,
Seen or told;
Scandalous and a shame to see,
A warrior old;
Crippled in the war,
Worried at the bar;
Him, the veteran, that of old
Firmly stood,
With a fierce and hardy frown,
In the field of Marathon;
Running down
Sweat and blood.
There and then, we were men;
Valorous assailants; now
Poor and low;

Open and exposed to wrong,
From the young;
Every knave, every ass,
Every rogue like Marpsyas.

Aristophanes, *The Knights*, p. 153,

Chorus

11. Joyful will it be and pleasant
To the future times and present,
The benignant happy day,
Which will shine on us at last,
Announcing with his genial ray,
That Cleon is condemned and cast!
Notwithstanding we have heard
From the seniors of the city,
Jurymen revered and feared,
An opinion deep and pithy:
That the state for household use
Wants a pestle and a mortar;
That Cleon serves to pound and bruise,
Or else our income would run shorter.
But I was told, the boys at school
Observed it as a kind of rule,
That he never could be made
By any means to play the lyre,
Till he was well and truly *paid* —
I mean with lashes for his hire.
At length his master all at once
Expelled him as an utter dunce;
As by nature ill inclined,
And wanting *gifts* of every kind.

Aristophanes, *The Birds*, p. 196

12. *Hoopoe.* Friendship is a poor adviser; politicians deep and wise
Many times are forced to learn a lesson from their enemies:
Diligent and wary conduct is the method soon or late

Which an adversary teaches; whilst a friend or intimate
Trains us on to sloth and ease, to ready confidence; to rest
In a careless acquiescence; to believe and hope the best.
Look on earth! behold the nations, all in emulation vieing,
Active all, with busy science engineering, fortifying;
To defend their hearths and homes, with patriotic industry,
Fencing every city round with massy walls of masonry:
Tactical devices old they modify with new design;
Arms offensive and defensive to perfection they refine;
Galleys are equipped and armed, and armies trained to discipline.
Look to life, in every part; in all they practice, all they know;
Every nation has derived its best instruction from the foe.

QUESTIONS

1. Before reading the extracts from the Greek drama, reread the scene between Hector and Andromache (*Iliad*), the war-songs of Tyrtæus, the poems of Solon, the odes of Pindar, and the description of the battle of Salamis from *The Persians* of Æschylus. Note how the poetry reflects the life of the Greeks. 2. Could you tell from the extracts from the Greek drama what kind of a country the Greeks lived in? 3. Which of the extracts appear to you the most beautiful as poetry? 4. Make a statement of the religious belief and ethics of Sophocles, proving your statements by quotations from the extracts. 5. How do his ideas on religion differ from those found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey?* 6. What traces of the old religion do you find in the ideas of Sophocles? 7. Which of the ideas appeal to you as noble and true? 8. Why are the plays of Aristophanes called comedies? 9. Do they give us a true picture of Athenian life? 10. What allowance must we make in using such material? 11. Select some passage from Aristophanes and show what is probably true and what false in it. 12. Describe an assembly of the Athenian people in so far as this can be done from the above extracts, indicating each time the extract from which you draw your information. 13. Enumerate the interesting things about Athenian life — apart from government — that you find mentioned in the extracts from Aristophanes. 14. Pick out the passages that are intended to make

sport of persons or practices in Athens. 15. Did Aristophanes poke fun at the people as well as at the government? 16. What was his attitude towards the government? 17. How did the government like his criticism? 18. Could you tell from the extracts from *The Acharnians* when the play was written? 19. What was the attitude of Aristophanes towards the old soldiers? 20. Did the Greek states expend much time and money in maintaining and perfecting their armies and navies?

FIG. 12. WOMEN AT THE FOUNTAIN

VII. THE PELOPONNESIAN WARS

A. The Ten Years' War

a. Condition of Greece and Resources of the Belligerents

Thucydides, II, 7–9

1. The affair of Platæa was a glaring violation of the thirty years' truce, and the Athenians now made preparations for war. The Lacedemonians and their allies made similar preparations. Both they and the Athenians meditated sending embassies to the king, and to the other barbarian potentates from whom either party might hope to obtain aid; they likewise sought the alliance of independent cities outside their own dominion. The Lacedemonians ordered their friends in Italy and Sicily to build others in number proportioned to the size of their cities, in addition to the ships which they had on the spot; for they intended to raise the Peloponnesian navy to a total of five hundred. The cities were also required to furnish a fixed sum of money; they were not to receive more than one ship of the Athenians at a time, but were to take no further measures until these preparations had been completed. The Athenians reviewed their confederacy, and sent ambassadors to the places immediately adjacent to Peloponnesus — Corcyra, Cephallenia, Acarnania, and Zacynthus. They perceived that if they could only rely upon the friendship of these states, they might completely encircle Peloponnesus with war.

On neither side were there any mean thoughts; they were both full of enthusiasm: and no wonder, for all men are energetic when they are making a beginning. At that time the youth of Peloponnesus and the youth of Athens were numerous; they had

never seen war, and were therefore very willing to take up arms. All Hellas was excited by the coming conflict between her two chief cities. Many were the prophecies circulated and many the oracles chanted by diviners, not only in the cities about to engage in the struggle, but throughout Hellas. Quite recently the island of Delos had been shaken by an earthquake for the first time within the memory of the Hellenes; this was interpreted and generally believed to be a sign of coming events. And everything of the sort which occurred was curiously noted.

The feeling of mankind was strongly on the side of the Lacedemonians; for they professed to be the liberators of Hellas. Cities and individuals were eager to assist them to the utmost, both by word and deed; and where a man could not hope to be present, there it seemed to him that all things were at a stand. For the general indignation against the Athenians was intense; some were longing to be delivered from them, others fearful of falling under their sway.

Such was the temper which animated the Hellenes and such were the preparations made by the two powers for the war. Their respective allies were as follows: The Lacedemonian confederacy included all the Peloponnesians with the exception of the Argives and the Achæans — they were both neutral; only the Achæans of Pellene took part with the Lacedemonians at first; afterwards all the Achæans joined them. Beyond the borders of the Peloponnese, the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians were their allies. Of these the Corinthians, Megarians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambraciots, and Leucadians provided a navy, the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians furnished cavalry, the other states only infantry. The allies of the Athenians were Chios, Lesbos, Platæa, the Messenians of Naupactus, the greater part of Acarnania, Corcyra, Zacynthus, and cities in many other countries which were their tributaries. There was the maritime region

of Caria, the adjacent Dorian peoples, Ionia, the Hellespont, the Thracian coast, the islands that lie to the east within the line of Peloponnesus and Crete, including all the Cyclades with the exception of Melos and Thera. Chios, Lesbos, and Corcyra furnished a navy; the rest, land forces and money. Thus much concerning the two confederacies, and the character of their respective forces.

. . . As to the general situation, he (Pericles) repeated his previous advice; they must prepare for war and bring their property from the country into the city; they must defend their walls but not go out to battle; they should also equip for service the fleet in which lay their strength. Their allies should be kept well in hand, for their power depended on the revenues which they derived from them; military successes were generally gained by a wise policy and command of money. The state of their finances was encouraging; they had on an average six hundred talents of tribute coming in annually from their allies, to say nothing of their other revenue; and there were still remaining in the acropolis six thousand talents of coined silver. (The whole amount had once been as much as nine thousand seven hundred talents, but from this had to be deducted a sum of three thousand seven hundred expended on various buildings, such as the propylæa of the acropolis, and also on the siege of Potidæa.) Moreover, there was uncoined gold and silver in the form of private and public offerings, sacred vessels used in processions and games, the Persian spoil and other things of the like nature, worth at least five hundred talents more. There were also at their disposal, besides what they had in the acropolis, considerable treasures in various temples. If they were reduced to the last extremity, they could even take off the plates of gold with which the image of the goddess was overlaid; these, as he pointed out, weighed forty talents, and were of refined gold, which was all removable. They might use this treasure in self-defence, but they were bound to replace all that they had taken.

By this estimate of their wealth, he strove to encourage them. He added that they had thirteen thousand hoplites, besides the sixteen thousand who occupied the fortresses, or who manned the walls of the city. For this was the number engaged on garrison duty at the beginning of the war, whenever the enemy invaded Attica; they were made up of the elder and younger men, and of such metics as bore heavy arms. The Phaleric wall extended four miles from Phalerum to the city walls: the portion of the city wall which was guarded was somewhat less than five miles; that between the Long Wall and the Phaleric requiring no guard. The Long Walls running down to the Piræus were rather more than four and a half miles in length; the outer only was guarded. The whole circuit of the Piræus and of Munychia was not quite seven miles, of which half required a guard. The Athenian cavalry, so Pericles pointed out, numbered twelve hundred, including mounted archers; the foot-archers, sixteen hundred; of triremes fit for service the city had three hundred. — The forces of various kinds which Athens possessed at the commencement of the war, when the first Peloponnesian invasion was impending, cannot be estimated at less. — To these Pericles added other arguments, such as he was fond of using, which were intended to prove to the Athenians that victory was certain.

QUESTIONS

1. What evidence do you find that this war promised at the outset to be a general European war? 2. What, according to Thucydides, was the feeling in the Greek world towards Athens? 3. If this was true, what was the cause of it? 4. On a sketch-map, color the territory occupied by Sparta and her allies yellow, by Athens and her allies green. 5. What inferences might be drawn concerning the two groups from a study of the map? 6. Make a statement of the resources of Athens in men and money. 7. What was Pericles' war policy? 8. Draw a plan of the walls of Athens and mark the length of the different sections.

b. Funeral Oration of Pericles

Thucydides, II, 34–54

1. During the same winter, in accordance with an old national custom, the funeral of those who first fell in this war was celebrated by the Athenians at the public charge. The ceremony is as follows: Three days before the celebration they erect a tent in which the bones of the dead are laid out, and every one brings to his own dead any offering which he pleases. At the time of the funeral the bones are placed in chests of cypress wood, which are conveyed on hearses; there is one chest for each tribe. They also carry a single empty litter decked with a pall for all whose bodies are missing, and cannot be recovered after the battle. The procession is accompanied by any one who chooses, whether citizen or stranger, and the female relatives of the deceased are present at the place of interment, and make lamentation. The public sepulchre is situated in the most beautiful spot outside the walls; there they always bury those who fall in war; only after the battle of Marathon the dead, in recognition of their preëminent valor, were interred on the field. When the remains have been laid in the earth, some man of known ability and high reputation, chosen by the city, delivers a suitable oration over them; after which the people depart. Such is the manner of interment; and the ceremony was repeated from time to time throughout the war. Over those who were the first buried, Pericles was chosen to speak. At the fitting moment he advanced from the sepulchre to a lofty stage, which had been erected in order that he might be heard as far as possible by the multitude, and spoke as follows: —

"Most of those who have spoken here before me have commended the lawgiver who added this oration to our other funeral customs; it seemed to them a worthy thing that such an honor should be given at their burial to the dead who have fallen on the field of battle. But I should have preferred, that, when men's

deeds have been brave, they should be honored in deed only, and with such an honor as this public funeral, which you are now witnessing. Then the reputation of many would not have been imperilled on the eloquence, or want of eloquence of one, and their virtues believed or not as he spoke well or ill. For it is difficult to say neither too little nor too much; and even moderation is apt not to give the impression of truthfulness. The friend of the dead who knows the facts is likely to think that the words of the speaker fall short of his knowledge and of his wishes; another who is not so well informed, when he hears of anything which surpasses his own powers, will be envious and will suspect exaggeration. Mankind are tolerant of the praises of others, so long as each hearer thinks that he can do as well or nearly as well himself, but, when the speaker rises above him, jealousy is aroused and he begins to be incredulous. However, since our ancestors have set the seal of their approval upon the practice, I must obey, and to the utmost of my power shall endeavor to satisfy the wishes and beliefs of all who hear me.

"I will speak first of our ancestors, for it is right and seemly, that now, when we are lamenting the dead, a tribute should be paid to their memory. There has never been a time when they did not inhabit this land, which by their valor they have handed down from generation to generation, and we have received from them a free state. But if they were worthy of praise, still more were our fathers, who added to their inheritance, and after many a struggle transmitted to us, their sons, this great empire. And we ourselves assembled here to-day, who are still most of us in the vigor of life, have carried the work of improvement farther, and have richly endowed our city with all things, so that she is sufficient for herself both in peace and war. Of the military exploits, by which our various possessions were acquired, or of the energy with which we, or our fathers, drove back the tide of war, Hellenic or barbarian, I will not speak; for the tale would be long and is familiar to you.

But before I praise the dead, I should like to point out by what principles of action we rose to power, and under what institutions, and through what manner of life our empire became great. For I conceive that such thoughts are not unsuited to the occasion, and that this numerous assembly of citizens and strangers may profitably listen to them.

"Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institution of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him, which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; our homes are beautiful and elegant; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

"Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner, or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret, if revealed to an enemy, might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas, they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. And here is the proof. The Lacedemonians come into Attica not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy following; we go alone into a neighbor's country; and although our opponents are fighting for their homes and we on a foreign soil, we have seldom any difficulty in overcoming them. Our enemies have never yet felt our united strength; the care of a navy divides our attention, and on land we are obliged to send our own citizens everywhere. But they, if they meet and defeat a part of our army, are as proud as if they had routed us all, and when defeated they pretend to have been vanquished by us all.

"If, then, we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain, although, when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus too our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth, we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not

as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting, too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favors. Now he who confers a favor is the firmer friend, because he would fain by kindness keep alive the memory of an obligation; but the recipient is colder in his feelings, because he knows that in requiting another's generosity he will not be winning gratitude but only paying a debt. We alone do good to our neighbors not upon a calculation of interest, but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank and fearless spirit. To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian, in his own person, seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial, Athens alone, among her contemporaries, is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages; we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment, although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day. For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our

valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf.

"I have dwelt upon the greatness of Athens, because I want to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those who enjoy none of these privileges, and to establish by manifest proof the merit of these men whom I am now commemorating. Their loftiest praise has been already spoken. For in magnifying the city I have magnified them, and men like them whose virtues made her glorious. And of how few Hellenes can it be said as of them, that their deeds when weighed in the balance have been found equal to their fame! Methinks that a death such as theirs has given the true measure of a man's worth; it may be the first revelation of his virtues, but is at any rate their final seal. For even those who come short in other ways may justly plead the valor with which they have fought for their country; they have blotted out the evil with the good, and have benefited the state more by their public services than they have injured her by their private actions. None of these men were enervated by wealth or hesitated to resign the pleasures of life; none of them put off the evil day in the hope, natural to poverty, that a man, though poor, may one day become rich. But, deeming that the punishment of their enemies was sweeter than any of these things, and that they could fall in no nobler cause, they determined at the hazard of their lives to be honorably avenged, and to leave the rest. They resigned to hope their unknown chance of happiness; but in the face of death they resolved to rely upon themselves alone. And when the moment came they were minded to resist and suffer, rather than to fly and save their lives; they ran away from the word of dishonor, but on the battle-field their feet stood fast, and in an instant, at the height of their fortune,

they passed away from the scene, not of their fear, but of their glory.

"Such was the end of these men; they were worthy of Athens, and the living need not desire to have a more heroic spirit, although they may pray for a less fatal issue. The value of such a spirit is not to be expressed in words. Any one can discourse to you forever about the advantages of a brave defence, which you know already. But instead of listening to him, I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who, in the hour of conflict, had the fear of dishonor always present to them, and who, if ever they failed in an enterprise, would not allow their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her as the fairest offering which they could present at her feast. The sacrifice, which they collectively made, was individually repaid to them; for they received again each one for himself a praise which grows not old, and the noblest of all sepulchres — I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but of that in which their glory survives, and is proclaimed always, and on every fitting occasion both in word and deed. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. The unfortunate, who has no hope of a change for the better, has less reason to throw away his life than the prosperous, who, if he survive, is always liable to a change for the worse, and to whom any accidental fall makes the most serious difference. To a man of spirit, cowardice and disaster coming together are far more bitter than death, strik-

ing him unperceived at a time when he is full of courage and animated by the general hope.

"Wherefore, I do not now commiserate the parents of the dead who stand here; I would rather comfort them. You know that your life has been passed amid manifold vicissitudes; and that they may be deemed fortunate who have gained most honor, whether an honorable death like theirs, or an honorable sorrow like yours, and whose days have been so ordered that the term of their happiness is likewise the term of their life. I know how hard it is to make you feel this, when the good fortune of others will too often remind you of the gladness which once lightened your hearts. And sorrow is felt at the want of those blessings, not which a man never knew, but which were a part of his life before they were taken from him. Some of you are of an age at which they may hope to have other children, and they ought to bear their sorrow better; not only will the children, who may hereafter be born, make them forget their own lost ones, but the city will be doubly a gainer. She will not be left desolate, and she will be safer. For a man's counsel cannot have equal weight or worth, when he alone has no children to risk in the general danger. To those of you who have passed their prime, I say: 'Congratulate yourselves that you have been happy during the greater part of your days; remember that your life of sorrow will not last long, and be comforted by the glory of those who are gone. For the love of honor alone is ever young, and not riches, as some say, but honor is the delight of men when they are old and useless.'

"To you who are the sons and brothers of the departed, I see that the struggle to emulate them will be an arduous one. For all men praise the dead, and, however preëminent your virtue may be, hardly will you be thought, I do not say to equal, but even to approach them. The living have their rivals and detractors, but when a man is out of the way, the honor and good-will which he receives is unalloyed. And, if I am to speak of womanly virtues

to those of you who will henceforth be widows, let me sum them up in one short admonition: To a woman not to show more weakness than is natural to her sex is a great glory, and not to be talked about for good or for evil among men.

"I have paid the required tribute, in obedience to the law, making use of such fitting words as I had. The tribute of deeds has been paid in part; for the dead have been honorably interred, and it remains only that their children should be maintained at the public charge until they are grown up: this is the solid prize with which, as with a garland, Athens crowns her sons living and dead, after a struggle like theirs. For where the rewards of virtue are greatest, there the noblest citizens are enlisted in the service of the state. And now, when you have duly lamented, every one his own dead, you may depart."

QUESTIONS

1. Why did Pericles object to a funeral oration? 2. What, according to the speech of Pericles, were the characteristics of the Athenian people that had rendered it great? 3. How many of these things are admirable? 4. What effect would such a funeral service have upon the people of Athens? 5. Do you suppose that Thucydides has reproduced the exact words of the speech delivered by Pericles? 6. How did Thucydides know what Pericles said? 7. Read the speech aloud. It is one of the most famous orations ever composed.

c. The Plague at Athens

Thucydides, II, 47–54

1. As soon as summer returned, the Peloponnesian army, comprising as before two-thirds of the force of each confederate state, under the command of the Lacedemonian king Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, invaded Attica, where they established themselves and ravaged the country. They had not been there many days when the plague broke out at Athens for the first time. A similar disorder is said to have previously smitten many places,

particularly Lemnos, but there is no record of such a pestilence occurring elsewhere, or of so great a destruction of human life. For a while physicians, in ignorance of the nature of the disease, sought to apply remedies; but it was in vain, and they themselves were among the first victims, because they oftenest came into contact with it. No human art was of any avail, and as to supplications in temples, inquiries of oracles, and the like, they were utterly useless, and at last men were overpowered by the calamity and gave them all up.

The disease is said to have begun south of Egypt in Æthiopia; thence it descended into Egypt and Libya, and after spreading over the greater part of the Persian empire, suddenly fell upon Athens. It first attacked the inhabitants of the Piræus, and it was supposed that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the cisterns, no conduits having as yet been made there. It afterwards reached the upper city, and then the mortality became far greater. As to its probable origin or the causes which might or could have produced such a disturbance of nature, every man, whether a physician or not, will give his own opinion. But I shall describe its actual course, and the symptoms by which any one who knows them beforehand may recognize the disorder should it ever reappear. For I was myself attacked, and witnessed the sufferings of others.

The season was admitted to have been remarkably free from ordinary sickness; and if anybody was already ill of any other disease, it was absorbed in this. Many who were in perfect health, all in a moment, and without any apparent reason, were seized with violent heats in the head and with redness and inflammation of the eyes. Internally the throat and the tongue were quickly suffused with blood, and the breath became unnatural and fetid. There followed sneezing and hoarseness; in a short time the disorder, accompanied by a violent cough, reached the chest; then fastening lower down, it would move the stomach and bring on all the

vomits of bile to which physicians have ever given names; and they were very distressing. An ineffectual retching producing violent convulsions attacked most of the sufferers; some as soon as the previous symptoms had abated, others not until long afterwards. The body externally was not so very hot to the touch, nor yet pale; it was of a livid color inclining to red, and breaking out in pustules and ulcers. But the internal fever was intense; the sufferers could not bear to have on them even the finest linen garment; they insisted on being naked, and there was nothing which they longed for more eagerly than to throw themselves into cold water. And many of those who had no one to look after them actually plunged into the cisterns, for they were tormented by unceasing thirst, which was not in the least assuaged whether they drank little or much. They could not sleep; a restlessness which was intolerable never left them. While the disease was at its height the body, instead of wasting away, held out amid these sufferings in a marvellous manner, and either they died on the seventh or ninth day, not of weakness, for their strength was not exhausted, but of internal fever, which was the end of most; . . .

The general character of the malady no words can describe, and the fury with which it fastened upon each sufferer was too much for human nature to endure. There was one circumstance in particular which distinguished it from ordinary diseases. The birds and animals which feed on human flesh, although so many bodies were lying unburied, either never came near them, or died if they touched them. This was proved by a remarkable disappearance of the birds of prey, which were not to be seen either about the bodies or anywhere else; while in the case of the dogs the result was even more obvious, because they live with man.

Such was the general nature of the disease: I omit many strange peculiarities which characterized individual cases. None of the ordinary sicknesses attacked any one while it lasted, or, if they did, they ended in the plague. Some of the sufferers died

FIG. 13. THE ERECTHEUM

from want of care, others equally who were receiving the greatest attention. No single remedy could be deemed a specific; for that which did good to one did harm to another. No constitution was of itself strong enough to resist or weak enough to escape the attacks; the disease carried off all alike and defied every mode of treatment. Most appalling was the despondency which seized upon any one who felt himself sickening; for he instantly abandoned his mind to despair, and, instead of holding out, absolutely threw away his chance of life. Appalling, too, was the rapidity with which men caught the infection; dying like sheep if they attended on one another; and this was the principal cause of mortality. When they were afraid to visit one another, the sufferers died in their solitude, so that many houses were empty because there had been no one left to take care of the sick; or if they ventured they perished, especially those who aspired to heroism. For they went to see their friends without thought of themselves and were ashamed to leave them, at a time when the very relations of the dying were at last growing weary and ceased even to make lamentations, overwhelmed by the vastness of the calamity. But whatever instances there may have been of such devotion, more often the sick and the dying were tended by the pitying care of those who had recovered, because they knew the course of the disease and were themselves free from apprehension. For no one was ever attacked a second time, or not with a fatal result. All men congratulated them, and they themselves, in the excess of their joy at the moment, had an innocent fancy that they could not die of any other sickness.

The crowding of the people out of the country into the city aggravated the misery; and the newly arrived suffered most. For, having no houses of their own, but inhabiting in the height of summer stifling huts, the mortality among them was dreadful, and they perished in wild disorder. The dead lay as they had died, one upon another, while others hardly alive wallowed in the streets

and crawled about every fountain craving for water. The temples in which they lodged were full of the corpses of those who died in them; for the violence of the calamity was such that men, not knowing where to turn, grew reckless of all law, human and divine. The customs which had hitherto been observed at funerals were universally violated, and they buried their dead each one as best he could. Many, having no proper appliances, because the deaths in their household had been so numerous already, lost all shame in the burial of the dead. When one man had raised a funeral pile, others would come, and throwing on their dead first, set fire to it; or when some other corpse was already burning, before they could be stopped, would throw their own dead upon it and depart.

There were other and worse forms of lawlessness which the plague introduced at Athens. Men, who had hitherto concealed what they took pleasure in, now grew bolder. For, seeing the sudden change, — how the rich died in a moment, and those who had nothing immediately inherited their property, — they reflected that life and riches were alike transitory, and they resolved to enjoy themselves while they could, and to think only of pleasure. Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honor when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honor? The pleasure of the moment and any sort of thing which conduced to it took the place both of honor and of expediency. No fear of Gods or law of man deterred a criminal. Those who saw all perishing alike, thought that the worship or neglect of the gods made no difference. For offences against human law no punishment was to be feared; no one would live long enough to be called to account. Already a far heavier sentence had been passed and was hanging over a man's head; before that fell, why should he not take a little pleasure?

Such was the grievous calamity which now afflicted the Athenians; within the walls their people were dying, and without, their country was being ravaged. . . .

QUESTIONS

1. Where did the plague come from? 2. How did Thucydides know what it was like? 3. What is the value of such evidence compared with Pausanias' account of the Spartan conquest of the Peloponnesus, with Herodotus' or Plutarch's description of the battle of Salamis or Æschylus' description of the same battle? 4. Describe the effects of the plague on the people of Athens.

d. The Siege of Platæa

Thucydides, II, 75–78

1. After this appeal to the gods he began military operations. In the first place, the soldiers felled the fruit-trees and surrounded the city with a stockade, that henceforth no one might get out. They then began to raise a mound against it, thinking that with so large an army at work, this would be the speediest way of taking the place. So they cut timber from Cithæron, and built on either side of the intended mound a frame of logs placed cross-wise, in order that the material might not scatter. Thither they carried wood, stones, earth, and anything which would fill up the vacant space. They continued raising the mound seventy days and seventy nights without intermission; the army was divided into relays, and one party worked while the other slept and ate. The Lacedemonian officers who commanded the contingents of the allies stood over them and kept them at work. The Platæans, seeing the mound rising, constructed a wooden frame, which they set upon the top of their own wall opposite the mound; in this they inserted bricks, which they took from the neighboring houses; the wood served to strengthen and bind the structure together as it increased in height; they also hung curtains of skins and hides in front; these were designed to protect the wood-work and the workers, and shield them against blazing arrows. The wooden wall rose high, but the mound rose quickly, too. Then

the Platæans had a new device: they made a hole in that part of the wall against which the mound pressed and drew in the earth.

The Peloponnesians discovered what they were doing, and threw into the gap clay packed in wattles of reed, which could not scatter and like the loose earth be carried away. Whereupon the Platæans, baffled in one plan, resorted to another. Calculating the direction, they dug a mine from the city to the mound and again drew the earth inward. For a long time their assailants did not find them out, and so what the Peloponnesians threw on was of little use, since the mound was always being drawn off below and settling into the vacant space. But in spite of all their efforts, the Platæans were afraid that their numbers would never hold out against so great an army; and they devised yet another expedient. They left off working at the great building opposite the mound, and beginning at both ends, where the city wall returned to its original lower height, they built an inner wall projecting inwards in the shape of a crescent, that if the first wall were taken the other might still be defensible. The enemy would be obliged to begin again and carry the mound right up to it, and as they advanced inwards would have their trouble all over again, and be exposed to missiles on both flanks. While the mound was rising the Peloponnesians brought battering engines up to the wall; one which was moved forward on the mound itself shook a great part of the raised building, to the terror of the Platæans. They brought up others, too, at other points of the wall. But the Platæans dropped nooses over the ends of these engines and drew them up; they also let down huge beams suspended at each end by long iron chains from two poles leaning on the wall and projecting over it. These beams they drew up at right angles to the advancing battering-ram, and whenever at any point it was about to attack them they slackened their hold of the chains and let go the beam, which fell with great force and snapped off the head of the ram.

At length the Peloponnesians, finding that their engines were useless, and that the new wall was rising opposite to the mound, and perceiving that they could not without more formidable means of attack hope to take the city, made preparations for a blockade. But first of all they resolved to try whether, the wind favoring, the place, which was but small, could not be set ón fire; they were anxious not to incur the expense of a regular siege, and devised all sorts of plans in order to avoid it. So they brought faggots and threw them down from the mound along the space between it and the wall, which was soon filled up, when so many hands were at work; then they threw more faggots one upon another into the city as far as they could reach from the top of the mound, and casting in lighted brands with brimstone and pitch, set them all on fire. A flame arose of which the like had never before been made by the hand of man; I am not speaking of fires in the mountains, when the forest has spontaneously blazed up from the action of the wind and mutual attrition. There was a great conflagration, and the Platæans, who had thus far escaped, were all but destroyed; a considerable part of the town was unapproachable, and if a wind had come on and carried the flame that way, as the enemy hoped, they could not have been saved. It is said that there was also a violent storm of thunder and rain, which quenched the flames and put an end to the danger.

The Peloponnesians, having failed in this, as in their former attempts, sent away a part of their army but retained the rest, and dividing the task among the contingents of the several cities, surrounded Platæa with a wall. Trenches, out of which they took clay for the bricks, were formed both on the inner and the outer side of the wall. About the rising of Arcturus all was completed. They then drew off their army, leaving a guard on one half of the wall, while the other half was guarded by the Bœotians; the disbanded troops returned to their homes. The Platæans had already conveyed to Athens their wives, children,

and old men, with the rest of their unserviceable population. Those who remained during the siege were four hundred Platæans, eighty Athenians, and a hundred and ten women to make bread. These were their exact numbers when the siege began. There was no one else, slave or freeman, within the walls. In such sort was the blockade of Platæa completed.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the siege works built by the Spartans around Platæa. 2. How did the Platæans defend the city? 3. What methods did the Spartans adopt to destroy the city? 4. To what plan did the besiegers finally resort to take the city? 5. How could Thucydides learn of this siege? 6. Would his account be more or less valuable than the account of the battle of Salamis by Plutarch?

e. Siege of Sphacteria

Thucydides, IV, 26–41

1. At Pylos, meanwhile, the Athenians continued to blockade the Lacedemonians in the island, and the Peloponnesian forces on the mainland remained in their old position. The watch was harassing to the Athenians, for they were in want both of food and water; there was only one small well, which was in the acropolis, and the soldiers were commonly in the habit of scraping away the shingle on the seashore, and drinking such water as they could get. The Athenian garrison was crowded into a narrow space, and, their ships having no regular anchorage, the crews took their meals on land by turns; one half of the army eating while the other lay at anchor in the open sea. The unexpected length of the siege was a great discouragement to them; they had hoped to starve their enemies out in a few days, for they were on a desert island, and had only brackish water to drink. The secret of this protracted resistance was a proclamation issued by the Lacedemonians

offering large fixed prices, and freedom, if he were a helot, to any one who would convey into the island meal, wine, cheese, or any other provision suitable for a besieged place. Many braved the danger, especially the helots; they started from all points of Peloponnesus, and before daybreak bore down upon the shore of the island looking towards the open sea. They took especial care to have a strong wind in their favor, since they were less likely to be discovered by the triremes when it blew hard from the sea. The blockade was then impracticable, and the crews of the boats were perfectly reckless in running them aground; for a value had been set upon them, and Lacedemonian hoplites were waiting to receive them about the landing-places of the island. All, however, who ventured when the sea was calm were captured. Some too dived and swam by way of the harbor, drawing after them by a cord skins containing pounded linseed and poppy-seeds mixed with honey. At first they were not found out, but afterwards watches were posted. The two parties had all sorts of devices, the one determined to send in food, the other to detect them.

When the Athenians heard that their own army was suffering and that supplies were introduced into the island, they began to be anxious and were apprehensive that the blockade might extend into the winter. They reflected that the conveyance of necessaries round the Peloponnese would then be impracticable. Their troops were in a desert place, to which, even in summer, they were not able to send a sufficient supply. The coast was without harbors; and therefore it would be impossible to maintain the blockade. Either the watch would be relaxed and the men would escape; or, taking advantage of a storm, they might sail away in the ships which brought them food. Above all they feared that the Lacedemonians, who no longer made overtures to them, must now be reassured of the strength of their own position, and they regretted having rejected their advances. Cleon, knowing that he was an object of general mistrust because he had stood in the

way of peace, challenged the reports of the messengers from Pylos; who rejoined that, if their words were not believed, the Athenians should send commissioners of their own. And so Theogenes and Cleon himself were chosen commissioners. As he knew that he could only confirm the report of the messengers whom he was calumniating, or would be convicted of falsehood if he contradicted them, observing too that the Athenians were now more disposed to take active measures, he advised them not to send commissioners, which would only be a loss of valuable time, but, if they were themselves satisfied with the report, to send a fleet against the island. Pointedly alluding to Nicias, the son of Niceratus, who was one of the generals and an enemy of his, he declared sarcastically that, if the generals were men, they might easily sail with an expedition to the island and take the garrison, and that this was what he would certainly have done, had he been general.

Nicias perceived that the multitude were murmuring at Cleon and asking "why he did not sail in any case, — now was his time if he thought the capture of Sphacteria to be such an easy matter"; and hearing him find fault, he told him that, as far as they, the generals, were concerned, he might take any force which he required and try. Cleon at first imagined that the offer of Nicias was only a pretence, and was willing to go; but finding that he was in earnest, he tried to back out, and said that not he but Nicias was general. He was now alarmed, for he never imagined that Nicias would go so far as to give up his place to him. Again Nicias bade him take the command of the expedition against Pylos, which he formally gave up to him in the presence of the assembly. And the more Cleon declined the proffered command and tried to retract what he had said, so much the more the multitude, as their manner is, urged Nicias to resign and shouted to Cleon that he should sail. At length, not knowing how to escape from his own words, he undertook the expedition, and, coming forward,

said that he was not afraid of the Lacedemonians, and that he would sail without taking a single man from the city if he were allowed to have the Lemnian and Imbrian forces now at Athens, the auxiliaries from Ænus, who were targeteers, and four hundred archers from other places. With these and with the troops already at Pylos he gave his word that within twenty days he would either bring the Lacedemonians alive or kill them on the spot. His vain words moved the Athenians to laughter; nevertheless the wiser sort of men were pleased when they reflected that of two good things they could not fail to obtain one — either there would be no more trouble with Cleon, which they would have greatly preferred, or, if they were disappointed, he would put the Lacedemonians into their hands.

When he had concluded the affair in the assembly, and the Athenians had passed the necessary vote for his expedition, he made choice of Demosthenes, one of the generals at Pylos, to be his colleague, and proceeded to sail with all speed. He selected Demosthenes because he heard that he was already intending to make an attack upon the island; for the soldiers, who were suffering much from the discomfort of the place, in which they were rather besieged than besiegers, were eager to strike a decisive blow. He had been much encouraged by a fire which had taken place in the island. It had previously been nearly covered with wood and was pathless, having never been inhabited; and he had feared that the nature of the country would give the enemy an advantage. For, however large the force with which he landed, the Lacedemonians might attack him from some place of ambush and do him much injury. Their mistakes and the character of their forces would be concealed by the wood; whereas all the errors made by his own army would be palpable, and so the enemy, with whom the power of attack would rest, might come upon them suddenly wherever they liked. And if they were compelled to go into the wood and there engage, a smaller force which knew the

ground would be more than a match for the larger number who were unacquainted with it. Their own army, however numerous, would be destroyed without knowing it, for they would not be able to see where they needed one another's assistance.

Demosthenes was led to make these reflections from his experience in Ætolia, where his defeat had been in a great measure owing to the forest. However, while the Athenian soldiers were taking their midday meal, with a guard posted in advance, at the extremity of the island, compelled as they were by want of room to land on the edge of the shore at meal-times, some one unintentionally set fire to a portion of the wood; a wind came on; and from this accident, before they knew what was happening, the greater part of it was burnt. Demosthenes, who had previously suspected that the Lacedemonians when they sent in provisions to the besieged had exaggerated their number, saw that the men were more numerous than he had imagined. He saw too the increased zeal of the Athenians, who were now convinced that the attempt was worth making; and the island seemed to him more accessible. So he prepared for the descent, despatching messengers to the allies in the neighborhood for additional forces and putting all in readiness. Cleon sent and announced to Demosthenes his approach, and soon afterwards, bringing with him the army which he had requested, himself arrived at Pylos. On the meeting of the two generals they first of all sent a herald to the Lacedemonian force on the mainland, proposing that they should avoid any further risk by ordering the men in the island to surrender with their arms; they were to be placed under surveillance but well treated until a general peace was concluded.

Finding that their proposal was rejected, the Athenians waited for a day, and on the night of the day following put off, taking with them all their heavy-armed troops, whom they had embarked in a few ships. A little before dawn they landed on both sides of the island, towards the sea and towards the harbor, a

force amounting in all to about eight hundred men. They then ran as fast as they could to the first station on the island. Now the disposition of the enemy was as follows: This first station was garrisoned by about thirty hoplites, while the main body under the command of Epitadas was posted near the spring in the centre of the island, where the ground was most level. A small force guarded the furthest extremity of the island opposite Pylos, which was precipitous towards the sea, and on the land side the strongest point of all, being protected to some extent by an ancient wall made of rough stones, which the Spartans thought would be of use to them if they were overpowered and compelled to retreat. Such was the disposition of the Lacedemonian troops.

The Athenians rushed upon the first garrison and cut them down, half asleep as they were and just snatching up their arms. Their landing had been unobserved, the enemy supposing that the ships were only gone to keep the customary watch for the night. When the dawn appeared, the rest of the army began to disembark. They were the crews of rather more than seventy ships, including all but the lowest rank of rowers, variously equipped. There were also archers to the number of eight hundred, and as many targeteers, besides the Messenian auxiliaries and all who were on duty about Pylos, except the guards who could not be spared from the walls of the fortress. Demosthenes divided them into parties of two hundred more or less, who seized the highest points of the island in order that the enemy, being completely surrounded and distracted by the number of their opponents, might not know whom they should face first, but might be exposed to missiles on every side. For if they attacked those who were in front, they would be assailed by those behind; and if those on one flank, by those posted on the other; and whichever way they moved, the light-armed troops of the enemy were sure to be in their rear. These were their most embarrassing opponents, because they were armed with bows and javelins and slings and stones, which could be used with effect

at a distance. Even to approach them was impossible, for they conquered in their very flight, and when an enemy retreated, pressed close at his heels. Such was the plan of the descent which Demosthenes had in his mind, and which he now carried into execution.

The main body of the Lacedemonians on the island under Epitadas, when they saw the first garrison cut to pieces and an army approaching them, drew up in battle array. The Athenian hoplites were right in front, and the Lacedemonians advanced against them, wanting to come to close quarters; but having light-armed adversaries both on their flank and rear, they could not get at them or profit by their own military skill, for they were impeded by a shower of missiles from both sides. Meanwhile the Athenians instead of going to meet them remained in position, while the light-armed again and again ran up and attacked the Lacedemonians, who drove them back where they pressed closest. But though compelled to retreat they still continued fighting, being lightly equipped and easily getting the start of their enemies. The ground was difficult and rough, the island having been uninhabited; and the Lacedemonians, who were encumbered by their arms, could not pursue them in such a place.

For some little time these skirmishes continued. But soon the Lacedemonians became too weary to rush out upon their assailants, who began to be sensible that their resistance grew feebler. The sight of their own number, which was many times that of the enemy, encouraged them more than anything; they soon found that their losses were trifling compared with what they had expected; and familiarity made them think their opponents much less formidable than when they first landed, cowed by the fear of facing Lacedemonians. They now despised them and with a loud cry rushed upon them in a body, hurling at them stones, arrows, javelins, whichever came first to hand. The shout with which they accompanied the attack dismayed the Lacedemonians,

who were unaccustomed to this kind of warfare. Clouds of dust arose from the newly-burnt wood, and there was no possibility of a man's seeing what was before him, owing to the showers of arrows and stones hurled by their assailants which were flying amid the dust. And now the Lacedemonians began to be sorely distressed, for their felt cuirasses did not protect them against the arrows, and the points of the javelins broke off where they struck them. They were at their wits' end, not being able to see out of their eyes or to hear the word of command, which was drowned by the cries of the enemy. Destruction was staring them in the face, and they had no means or hope of deliverance.

At length, finding that so long as they fought in the same narrow spot more and more of their men were wounded, they closed their ranks and fell back on the last fortification of the island, which was not far off, and where their other garrison was stationed. Instantly the light-armed troops of the Athenians pressed upon them with fresh confidence, redoubling their cries. Those of the Lacedemonians who were caught by them on the way were killed, but the greater number escaped to the fort and ranged themselves with the garrison, resolved to defend the heights wherever they were assailable. The Athenians followed, but the strength of the position made it impossible to surround and cut them off, and so they attacked them in face and tried to force them back. For a long time, and indeed during the greater part of the day, both armies, although suffering from the battle and thirst and the heat of the sun, held their own; the one endeavoring to thrust their opponents from the high ground, the other determined not to give way. But the Lacedemonians now defended themselves with greater ease, because they were not liable to be taken in flank.

There was no sign of the end. At length the general of the Messenian contingent came to Cleon and Demosthenes and told them that the army was throwing away its pains, but if they would

give him some archers and light-armed troops and let him find a path by which he might get round in the rear of the Lacedemonians, he thought that he could force the approach. Having obtained his request he started from a point out of sight of the enemy, and making his way wherever the broken ground afforded a footing and where the cliff was so steep that no guards had been set, he and his men with great difficulty got round unseen and suddenly appeared on the summit in their rear, striking panic into the astonished enemy and redoubling the courage of his own friends who were watching for his reappearance. The Lacedemonians were now assailed on both sides, and to compare a smaller thing to a greater, were in the same case with their own countrymen at Thermopylæ. For as they perished when the Persians found a way round by the path, so now the besieged garrison were attacked on both sides, and no longer resisted. The disparity of numbers, and the failure of bodily strength arising from want of food, compelled them to fall back, and the Athenians were at length masters of the approaches.

Cleon and Demosthenes saw that if the Lacedemonians gave way one step more they would be destroyed by the Athenians; so they stopped the engagement and held back their own army, for they wanted, if possible, to bring them alive to Athens. They were in hopes that when they heard the offer of terms their courage might be broken, and that they might be induced by their desperate situation to yield up their arms. Accordingly they proclaimed to them that they might, if they would, surrender at discretion to the Athenians themselves and their arms.

Upon hearing the proclamation most of them lowered their shields and waved their hands in token of their willingness to yield. A truce was made, and then Cleon and Demosthenes on the part of the Athenians, and Styphon, the son of Pharax, on the part of the Lacedemonians, held a parley. Epitadas, who was the first in command, had been already slain; Hippagretas, who

was next in succession, lay among the slain for dead; and Styphon had taken the place of the two others, having been appointed, as the law prescribed, in case anything should happen to them. He and his companions expressed their wish to communicate with the Lacedemonians on the mainland as to the course which they should pursue. The Athenians allowed none of them to stir, but themselves invited heralds from the shore; and after two or three communications, the herald who came over last from the body of the army brought back word, "The Lacedemonians bid you act as you think best, but you are not to dishonor yourselves." Whereupon they consulted together, and then gave up themselves and their arms. During that day and the following night the Athenians kept guard over them; on the next day they set up a trophy on the island and made preparations to sail, distributing the prisoners among the trierarchs. The Lacedemonians sent a herald and conveyed away their own dead. The number of the dead and the prisoners was as follows: Four hundred and twenty hoplites in all passed over into the island; of these, two hundred and ninety-two were brought to Athens alive, the remainder had perished. Of the survivors the Spartans numbered about a hundred and twenty. But few Athenians fell, for there was no regular engagement.

Reckoned from the sea-fight to the final battle in the island, the time during which the blockade lasted was ten weeks and two days. For about three weeks the Lacedemonians were supplied with food while the Spartan ambassadors were gone to solicit peace, but during the rest of this time they lived on what was brought in by stealth. A store of corn and other provisions was found in the island at the time of the capture; for the commander Epitadas had not served out full rations. The Athenians and Peloponnesians now withdrew their armies from Pylos and returned home. And the mad promise of Cleon was fulfilled; for he did bring back the prisoners within twenty days, as he had said.

Nothing which happened during the war caused greater amazement in Hellas; for it was universally imagined that the Lacedemonians would never give up their arms, either under the pressure of famine or in any other extremity, but would fight to the last and die sword in hand. No one would believe that those who surrendered were men of the same quality with those who perished. There is a story of a reply made by a captive taken in the island to one of the Athenian allies who had sneeringly asked "Where were their brave men — all killed?" He answered that "The spindle" (meaning the arrow) "would be indeed a valuable weapon if it picked out the brave." He meant to say that the destruction caused by the arrows and stones was indiscriminate.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the positions of the Athenians and the Laconians at Pylos? 2. Why could the Athenians not take Sphacteria? 3. How did Cleon happen to be placed in command of the army sent against the Spartans in Sphacteria? 4. If the account by Thucydides is correct, what do you think of this act of the Athenian assembly? 5. What is evidently Thucydides' opinon of Cleon? 6. Does it affect the value of his statements about him? 7. What step did Cleon at once take to insure the success of the undertaking? 8. What happened before his arrival that increased the chances of success? 9. How did the Athenians gain a foothold on the island? 10. To what was the Athenian victory due? 11. Did the Spartans on Sphacteria show themselves as brave as their ancestors at Thermopylæ? 12. What impression was made on the Greek world by their surrender?

f. Truce of 423 B.C.

Thucydides, IV, 117–119

1. . . . So they made a truce for themselves and their allies in the following terms: —

"I. Concerning the temple and oracle of the Pythian Apollo,

it seems good to us that any one who will, shall ask counsel thereat without fraud and without fear, according to his ancestral customs. To this we, the Lacedemonians and their allies here present, agree, and we will send heralds to the Bœotians and Phocians, and do our best to gain their assent likewise.

"II. Concerning the treasures of the God, we will take measures for the detection of evil-doers, both you and we, according to our ancestral customs, and any one else who will, according to his ancestral customs, proceeding always with right and equity. Thus it seems good to the Lacedemonians and their allies in respect of these matters.

"III. It further seems good to the Lacedemonians and their allies that, if the Athenians consent to a truce, either party shall remain within his own territory, retaining what he has. The Athenians at Coryphasium shall keep between Buphras and Tomeus. They shall remain at Cythera, but shall not communicate with the Lacedemonian confederacy, neither we with them nor they with us. The Athenians who are in Nisæa and Minoa shall not cross the road which leads from the gates of the shrine of Nisus to the temple of Poseidon, and from the temple of Poseidon goes direct to the bridge leading to Minoa, neither shall the Megarians and their allies cross this road; the Athenians shall hold the island which they have taken, neither party communicating with the other. They shall also hold what they now hold near Trœzen, according to the agreement concluded between the Athenians and Trœzenians.

"IV. At sea the Lacedemonians and their allies may sail along their own coasts and the coasts of the confederacy, not in ships of war, but in any other rowing vessel whose burden does not exceed five hundred talents.

"V. There shall be a safe-conduct both by sea and land for a herald, with envoys and any number of attendants which may be agreed upon, passing to and fro between Peloponnesus and Athens,

to make arrangements about the termination of the war and about the arbitration of disputed points.

"VI. While the truce lasts, neither party, neither we nor you, shall receive deserters, either bond or free.

"VII. And we will give satisfaction to you and you shall give satisfaction to us according to our ancestral customs, and determine disputed points by arbitration and not by arms.

"These things seem good to us, the Lacedemonians, and to our allies. But if you deem any other condition more just or honorable, go to Lacedemon and explain your views; neither the Lacedemonians nor their allies will reject any just claim which you may prefer.

"And we desire you, as you desire us, to send envoys invested with full powers.

"This truce shall be for a year.

"The Athenian people passed the following decree. The prytanes were of the tribe Acamantis, Phænippus was the registrar, Niciades was the president. Laches moved that a truce be concluded on the terms to which the Lacedemonians and their allies had consented; and might it be for the best interests of the Athenian people! Accordingly the assembly agreed that the truce shall last for a year, beginning from this day, being the fourteenth day of the month Elaphebolion. During the year of truce ambassadors and heralds are to go from one state to another and discuss proposals for the termination of the war. The generals and prytanes shall proceed to hold another assembly, at which the people shall discuss, first of all, the question of peace, whatever proposal the Lacedemonian embassy may offer about the termination of the war. The embassies now present shall bind themselves on the spot, in the presence of the assembly, to abide for a year by the truce just made."

119. To these terms the Lacedemonians assented, and they and their allies took oath to the Athenians and their allies on the twelfth

day of the Spartan month Gerastius. Those who formally ratified the truce were, on behalf of Lacedemon, Taurus, the son of Echetimidas, Athenæus, the son of Periclidas, Philocharidas, the son of Eryxidaidas; of Corinth, Æneas, the son of Ocytus, Euphamidas, the son of Aristonymus; of Sicyon, Damotimus, the son of Naucrates, Onasimus, the son of Megacles; of Megara, Nicasus, the son of Œcalus, Menecrates, the son of Amphidorus; of Epidaurus, Amphias, the son of Eupaïdas; and on behalf of Athens, Nicostratus, the son of Diitrephes, Nicias, the son of Niceratus, Autocles, the son of Tolmæus. Such were the terms of the armistice; during its continuance fresh negotiations for a final peace were constantly carried on.

QUESTIONS

1. What kind of a document (one or more?) is this? Examine the wording of it carefully. 2. Point out the conditions that would have been different had peace been made and not a truce. 3. What proofs do you find of the importance of religion in Greek life? 4. What reference do you find to a modern method of settling international disputes? 5. What parts of the government in Athens took part in the making of this truce? 6. Did the Athenians and Spartans name their months as we do? 7. What states signed this truce on either side?

g. Peace of Nicias, 421 B.C.

Thucydides, V, 17–19

1. He was vexed by these accusations, and thinking that in peace, when there would be no mishaps, and when the Lacedemonians would have recovered the captives, he would himself be less open to attack, whereas in war leading men must always have the misfortunes of the state laid at their door, he was very anxious to come to terms. Negotiations were commenced during the winter. Towards spring the Lacedemonians sounded a note of preparation by announcing to the allies that their services would

be required in the erection of a fort; they thought that the Athenians would thereby be induced to listen to them. At the same time, after many conferences and many demands urged on both sides, an understanding was at last arrived at, that both parties should give up what they had gained by arms. The Athenians, however, were to retain Nisæa, for when they demanded the restoration of Platæa, the Thebans protested that they had obtained possession of the place not by force or treachery, but by agreement; to which the Athenians rejoined that they had obtained Nisæa in the same manner. The Lacedemonians then summoned their allies; and although the Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megarians were dissatisfied, the majority voted for peace. And so the peace was finally concluded and ratified by oaths and libations, the Lacedemonians binding themselves to the Athenians and the Athenians to the Lacedemonians in the following terms: —

"The Athenians and Lacedemonians and their respective allies make peace upon the following terms, to which they swear, each city separately: —

"I. Touching the common temples, any one who pleases may go and sacrifice in them and inquire at them, on behalf either of himself or of the state, according to the custom of his country, both by land and sea, without fear.

"II. The precinct and the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the Delphian people shall be independent, and shall retain their own revenues and their own courts of justice, both for themselves and for their territory, according to their ancestral customs.

"III. The peace between the Athenians and their confederates and the Lacedemonians and their confederates shall endure fifty years, both by sea and land, without fraud or hurt.

"IV. They shall not be allowed to bear arms to the hurt of one another in any way or manner; neither the Lacedemonians and their allies against the Athenians and their allies, nor the Athenians and their allies against the Lacedemonians and their allies;

and they shall determine any controversy which may arise between them by oaths and other legal means in such sort as they shall agree.

"V. The Lacedemonians and their allies shall restore Amphipolis to the Athenians.

"VI. The inhabitants of any cities which the Lacedemonians deliver over to the Athenians may depart whithersoever they please, and take their property with them. The said cities shall be independent, but shall pay the tribute which was fixed in the time of Aristides. After the conclusion of the treaty the Athenians and their allies shall not be allowed to make war upon them to their hurt, so long as they pay tribute. The cities are these;— Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus: these shall be allies neither of the Lacedemonians nor of the Athenians, but if the Athenians succeed in persuading them, having their consent, they may make them allies.

"VII. The Mecybernæans, Sanæans, and Singæans shall dwell in their own cities on the same terms as the Olynthians and Acanthians.

"VIII. The Lacedemonians and the allies shall restore Banactum to the Athenians. The Athenians shall restore to the Lacedemonians Coryphasium, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalante.

"IX. The Athenians shall surrender the Lacedemonian captives whom they have in their public prison, or who are in the public prison of any place within the Athenian dominions, and they shall let go the Peloponnesians who are besieged in Scione, and any other allies of the Lacedemonians who are in Scione, and all whom Brasidas introduced into the place, and any of the allies of the Lacedemonians who are in the public prison at Athens, or in the public prison of any place within the Athenian dominions. The Lacedemonians and their allies in like manner shall restore those of the Athenians and their allies who are their prisoners.

"X. Respecting Scione, Torone, and Sermyle, or any cities which are held by the Athenians, the Athenians shall do with the inhabitants of the said cities, or of any cities which are held by them, as they think fit.

"XI. The Athenians shall bind themselves by oath to the Lacedemonians and their allies, city by city, and the oath shall be that which in the several cities of the two contracting parties is deemed the most binding. The oath shall be in the following form: 'I will abide by this treaty and by this peace truly and sincerely.' The Lacedemonians and their allies shall bind themselves by a similar oath to the Athenians. This oath shall be renewed by both parties every year; and they shall erect pillars at Olympia, Delphi, and the Isthmus, at Athens in the Acropolis, at Lacedemon in the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ.

"XII. If anything whatsoever be forgotten on one side or the other, either party may, without violation of their oaths, take honest counsel and alter the treaty in such manner as shall seem good to the two parties, the Athenians and Lacedemonians."

The treaty begins, at Lacedemon in the Ephorate of Pleistolas, and on the twenty-seventh day of the month Artemisium, and at Athens in the archonship of Alcæus, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebolion. The following persons took the oaths and ratified the treaty: On behalf of the Lacedemonians, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daïthus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Tellis, Alcinidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus; on behalf of the Athenians, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Hagnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes.

QUESTIONS

1. How were the negotiations for a permanent peace conducted?
2. How did the states of the Peloponnesus attempt to force the Athe-

nians to make peace? 3. Enumerate the terms of the peace and the measures to be used to insure its enforcement. 4. Which of these measures seem peculiar to us? 5. What are our methods? 6. How many months elapsed between the making of the truce and the peace?

B. The Sicilian Expedition

Thucydides, VI, 30–32

1. About the middle of summer the expedition started for Sicily. Orders had been previously given to most of the allies, to the corn-ships, the smaller craft, and generally to the vessels in attendance on the armament, that they should muster at Corcyra, whence the whole fleet was to strike across the Ionian gulf to the promontory of Iapygia. Early in the morning of the day appointed for their departure, the Athenian forces and such of their allies as had already joined them went down to the Piræus and began to man the ships. Almost the entire population of Athens accompanied them, citizens and strangers alike. The citizens came to take farewell, one of an acquaintance, another of a kinsman, another of a son, and as they passed along were full of hope and full of tears; hope of conquering Sicily, tears because they doubted whether they would ever see their friends again, when they thought of the long voyage on which they were going away. At the last moment of parting the danger was nearer; and terrors which had never occurred to them when they were voting the expedition now entered into their souls. Nevertheless their spirits revived at the sight of the armament in all its strength and of the abundant provision which they had made. The strangers and the rest of the multitude came out of curiosity, desiring to witness an enterprise of which the greatness exceeded belief.

No armament so magnificent or costly had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power, though in mere number of ships and hoplites that which sailed to Epidaurus under Pericles and afterwards under Hagnon to Potidæa was not inferior. For that

expedition consisted of a hundred Athenian and fifty Chian and Lesbian triremes, conveying four thousand hoplites, all Athenian citizens, three hundred cavalry, and a multitude of allied troops. Still the voyage was short and the equipments were poor, whereas this expedition was intended to be long absent, and was thoroughly provided both for sea and land service, wherever its presence might be required. On the fleet the greatest pains and expense had been lavished by the trierarchs and the state. The public treasury gave a drachma a day to each sailor, and furnished empty hulls for sixty swift-sailing vessels, and for forty transports carrying hoplites. All these were manned with the best crews which could be obtained. The trierarchs, besides the pay given by the state, added somewhat more out of their own means to the wages of the upper ranks of rowers and of the petty officers. The figure-heads and other fittings provided by them were of the most costly description. Every one strove to the utmost that his own ship might excel both in beauty and swiftness. The infantry had been well selected and the lists carefully made up. There was the keenest rivalry among the soldiers in the matter of arms and personal equipment. And while at home the Athenians were thus competing with one another in the performance of their several duties, to the rest of Hellas the expedition seemed to be a grand display of their power and greatness, rather than a preparation for war. If any one had reckoned up the whole expenditure, both of the state and of individual soldiers and others, including in the first not only what the city had already laid out, but what was intrusted to the generals, and in the second, what either at the time or afterwards private persons spent upon their outfit, or the trierarchs upon their ships, the provision for the long voyage which every one may be supposed to have carried with him over and above his public pay, and what soldiers or traders may have taken for purposes of exchange, he would have found that altogether an immense sum amounting to many talents was withdrawn from the city. Men were quite

amazed at the boldness of the scheme and the magnificence of the spectacle, which were everywhere spoken of, no less than at the great disproportion of the force when compared with that of the enemy against whom it was intended. Never had a greater expedition been sent to a foreign land; never was there an enterprise in which the hope of future success seemed to be better justified by actual power.

When the ships were manned and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, and all with one voice before setting sail offered up the customary prayers; these were recited, not in each ship separately, but by a single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him. On every deck both the officers and the marines, mingling wine in bowls, made libations from vessels of gold and silver. The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who were looking on from the land joined in the prayer. The crews reached the pæan and, when the libations were completed, put to sea. After sailing out for some distance in single file, the ships raced with one another as far as Ægina; thence they hastened onwards to Corcyra, where the allies who formed the rest of the army were assembling.

Thucydides, VII, 59–87

2. The Syracusans and the allies naturally thought that the struggle would be brought to a glorious end if, after having defeated the Athenian fleet, they took captive the whole of their great armament, and did not allow them to escape either by sea or land. So they at once began to close the mouth of the Great Harbor, which was about a mile wide, by means of triremes, merchant-vessels, and small boats, placed broadside, which they moored there. They also made every preparation for a naval engagement, should the Athenians be willing to hazard another; and all their thoughts were on a grand scale.

The Athenians, seeing the closing of the harbor and inferring the intentions of the enemy, proceeded to hold a council. The generals and officers met and considered the difficulties of their position. The most pressing of all was the want of food. For they had already sent to Catana, when they intended to depart, and stopped the supplies for the present; and they could get no more in the future unless they recovered the command of the sea. They resolved therefore to quit their lines on the higher ground and to cut off by a cross-wall a space close to their ships, no greater than was absolutely required for their baggage and for their sick; after leaving a guard there they meant to put on board every other man, and to launch all their ships, whether fit for service or not; they would then fight a decisive battle, and, if they conquered, go to Catana; but if not, they would burn their ships and retreat by land in good order, taking the nearest way to some friendly country, barbarian or Hellenic. This design they proceeded to execute, and withdrawing quietly from the upper walls manned their whole fleet, compelling every man of any age at all suitable for service to embark. The entire number of the ships which they manned was about a hundred and ten. They put on board numerous archers and javelin-men, Acarnanians, and other foreigners, and made such preparations for action as their difficult situation and the nature of their plan allowed. When all was nearly ready, Nicias, perceiving that his men were depressed by their severe defeat at sea, which was so new an experience to them, while at the same time the want of provisions made them impatient to risk a battle, with the least possible delay called the whole army together, and before they engaged exhorted them as follows: . . .

Nicias, as soon as he had done speaking, gave orders to man the ships. Gylippus and the Syracusans could see clearly enough from the preparations which the Athenians were making that they were going to fight. But they had also previous notice,

and had been told of the iron grapnels; and they took precautions against this as against all the other devices of the Athenians. They covered the prows of their vessels with hides, extending a good way along the upper part of their sides, so that the grapnels might slip and find no hold. When all was ready, Gylippus and the other generals exhorted their men in the following words: . . .

When Gylippus and the other Syracusan generals had, like Nicias, encouraged their troops, perceiving the Athenians to be manning their ships, they presently did the same. Nicias, overwhelmed by the situation, and seeing how great and how near the peril was (for the ships were on the very point of rowing out), feeling too, as men do on the eve of a great struggle, that all which he had done was nothing, and that he had not said half enough, again addressed the trierarchs, and calling each of them by his father's name, and his own name, and the name of his tribe, he entreated those who had made any reputation for themselves not to be false to it, and those whose ancestors were eminent not to tarnish their hereditary fame. He reminded them that they were the inhabitants of the freest country in the world, and how in Athens there was no interference with the daily life of any man. He spoke to them of their wives and children and their fathers' gods, as men will at such a time; for then they do not care whether their commonplace phrases seem to be out of date or not, but loudly reiterate the old appeals, believing that they may be of some service at the awful moment. When he thought that he had exhorted them, not enough, but as much as the scanty time allowed, he retired, and led the land-forces to the shore, extending the line as far as he could, so that they might be of the greatest use in encouraging the combatants on board ship. Demosthenes, Menander, and Euthydemus, who had gone on board the Athenian fleet to take the command, now quitted their own station, and proceeded straight to the closed mouth of the harbor, intending to force their way to the open sea where a passage was still left.

The Syracusans and their allies had already put out with nearly the same number of ships as before. A detachment of them guarded the entrance of the harbor; the remainder were disposed all round it, in such a manner that they might fall on the Athenians from every side at once, and that their land-forces might at the same time be able to coöperate wherever the ships retreated to the shore. Sicanus and Agatharcus commanded the Syracusan fleet, each of them a wing; Pythen and the Corinthians occupied the centre. When the Athenians approached the closed mouth of the harbor the violence of their onset overpowered the ships which were stationed there; they then attempted to loosen the fastenings. Whereupon from all sides the Syracusans and their allies came bearing down upon them, and the conflict was no longer confined to the entrance, but extended throughout the harbor. No previous engagement had been so fierce and obstinate. Great was the eagerness with which the rowers on both sides rushed upon their enemies whenever the word of command was given; and keen was the contest between the pilots as they manœuvred one against another. The marines too were full of anxiety that, when ship struck ship, the service on deck should not fall short of the rest; every one in the place assigned to him was eager to be foremost among his fellows. Many vessels meeting — and never did so many fight in so small a space, for the two fleets together amounted to nearly two hundred — they were seldom able to strike in the regular manner, because they had no opportunity of first retiring or breaking the line; they generally fouled one another as ship dashed against ship in the hurry of flight or pursuit. All the time that another vessel was bearing down, the men on deck poured showers of javelins and arrows and stones upon the enemy; and when the two closed, the marines fought hand to hand, and endeavored to board. In many places, owing to the want of room, they who had struck another found that they were struck themselves; often two or even more vessels were unavoidably entangled

about one, and the pilots had to make plans of attack and defence, not against one adversary only, but against several coming from different sides. The crash of so many ships dashing against one another took away the wits of the crews, and made it impossible to hear the boatswains, whose voices in both fleets rose high, as they gave directions to the rowers, or cheered them on in the excitement of the struggle. On the Athenian side they were shouting to their men that they must force a passage and seize the opportunity now or never of returning in safety to their native land. To the Syracusans and their allies was represented the glory of preventing the escape of their enemies, and of a victory by which every man would exalt the honor of his own city. The commanders too, when they saw any ship backing without necessity, would call the captain by his name and ask of the Athenians whether they were retreating because they expected to be more at home upon the land of their bitterest foes than upon that sea which had been their own so long; on the Syracusan side, whether, when they knew perfectly well that the Athenians were only eager to find some means of flight, they would themselves fly from the fugitives.

While the naval engagement hung in the balance the two armies on shore had great trial and conflict of soul. The Sicilian soldier was animated by the hope of increasing the glory which he had already won, while the invader was tormented by the fear that his fortunes might sink lower still. The last chance of the Athenians lay in their ships, and their anxiety was dreadful. The fortune of the battle varied; and it was not possible that the spectators on the shore should all receive the same impression of it. Being quite close and having different points of view, they would some of them see their own ships victorious; their courage would then revive, and they would earnestly call upon the gods not to take from them their hope of deliverance. But others, who saw their ships worsted, cried and shrieked aloud, and were by the

sight alone more utterly unnerved than the defeated combatants themselves. Others again, who had fixed their gaze on some part of the struggle which was undecided, were in a state of excitement still more terrible; they kept swaying their bodies to and fro in an agony of hope and fear as the stubborn conflict went on and on; for at every instant they were all but saved or all but lost. And while the strife hung in the balance you might hear in the Athenian army at once lamentation, shouting, cries of victory or defeat, and all the various sounds which are wrung from a great host in extremity of danger. Not less agonizing were the feelings of those on board. At length the Syracusans and their allies, after a protracted struggle, put the Athenians to flight, and triumphantly bearing down upon them, and encouraging one another with loud cries and exhortations, drove them to land. Then that part of the navy which had not been taken in the deep water fell back in confusion to the shore, and the crews rushed out of the ships into the camp. And the land-forces, no longer now divided in feeling, but uttering one universal groan of intolerable anguish, ran, some of them to save the ships, others to defend what remained of the wall; but the greater number began to look to themselves and to their own safety. Never had there been a greater panic in an Athenian army than at that moment. They now suffered what they had done to others at Pylos. For at Pylos the Lacedemonians, when they saw their ships destroyed, knew that their friends who had crossed over into the island of Sphacteria were lost with them. And so now the Athenians, after the rout of their fleet, knew that they had no hope of saving themselves by land unless events took some extraordinary turn.

Thus, after a fierce battle and a great destruction of ships and men on both sides, the Syracusans and their allies gained the victory. They gathered up the wrecks and bodies of the dead, and sailing back to the city erected a trophy. The Athenians, overwhelmed by their misery, never so much as thought of recov-

ering their wrecks or of asking leave to collect their dead. Their intention was to retreat that very night. Demosthenes came to Nicias and proposed that they should once more man their remaining vessels and endeavor to force the passage at daybreak, saying that they had more ships fit for service than the enemy. For the Athenian fleet still numbered sixty, but the enemy had less than fifty. Nicias approved of his proposal, and they would have manned the ships, but the sailors refused to embark; for they were paralyzed by their defeat, and had no longer any hope of succeeding. So the Athenians all made up their minds to escape by land.

Hermocrates the Syracusan suspected their intention, and dreading what might happen if their vast army, retreating by land and settling somewhere in Sicily, should choose to renew the war, he went to the authorities, and represented to them that they ought not to allow the Athenians to withdraw by night (mentioning his own suspicion of their intentions), but that all the Syracusans and their allies should go out in advance, wall up the roads, and occupy the passes with a guard. They thought very much as he did, and wanted to carry out his plan, but doubted whether their men, who were too glad to repose after a great battle, and in time of festival — for there happened on that very day to be a sacrifice to Heracles — could be induced to obey. Most of them, in the exultation of victory, were drinking and keeping holiday, and at such a time how could they ever be expected to take up arms and go forth at the order of the generals? On these grounds the authorities decided that the thing was impossible. Whereupon Hermocrates himself, fearing lest the Athenians should gain a start and quietly pass the most difficult places in the night, contrived the following plan: when it was growing dark he sent certain of his own acquaintance, accompanied by a few horsemen, to the Athenian camp. They rode up within earshot, and pretending to be friends (there were known to be men in the city who

gave information to Nicias of what went on) called to some of the soldiers, and bade them tell him not to withdraw his army during the night, for the Syracusans were guarding the roads; he should make preparation at leisure and retire by day. Having delivered their message they departed, and those who had heard them informed the Athenian generals.

On receiving this message, which they supposed to be genuine, they remained during the night. And having once given up the intention of starting immediately, they decided to remain during the next day, that the soldiers might, as well as they could, put together their baggage in the most convenient form, and depart, taking with them the bare necessaries of life, but nothing else.

Meanwhile the Syracusans and Gylippus, going forth before them with their land-forces, blocked the roads in the country by which the Athenians were likely to pass, guarded the fords of the rivers and streams, and posted themselves at the best points for receiving and stopping them. Their sailors rowed up to the beach and dragged away the Athenian ships. The Athenians themselves had burnt a few of them, as they had intended, but the rest the Syracusans towed away, unmolested and at their leisure, from the places where they had severally run aground, and conveyed them to the city.

On the third day after the sea-fight, when Nicias and Demosthenes thought that their preparations were complete, the army began to move. They were in a dreadful condition; not only was there the great fact that they had lost their whole fleet, and instead of their expected triumph had brought the utmost peril upon Athens as well as upon themselves, but also the sights which presented themselves as they quitted the camp were painful to every eye and mind. The dead were unburied, and when any one saw the body of a friend lying on the ground he was smitten with sorrow and dread, while the sick or wounded who still survived but had to be left were even a greater trial to the living, and more to be

pitied than those who were gone. Their prayers and lamentations drove their companions to distraction; they would beg that they might be taken with them, and call by name any friend or relation whom they saw passing; they would hang upon their departing comrades and follow as far as they could, and, when their limbs and strength failed them, and they dropped behind, many were the imprecations and cries which they uttered. So that the whole army was in tears, and such was their despair that they could hardly make up their minds to stir, although they were leaving an enemy's country, having suffered calamities too great for tears already and dreading miseries yet greater in the unknown future. There was also a general feeling of shame and self-reproach, — indeed they seemed, not like an army, but like the fugitive population of a city captured after a siege; and of a great city too. For the whole multitude who were marching together numbered not less than forty thousand. Each of them took with him anything he could carry which was likely to be of use. Even the heavy-armed and cavalry, contrary to their practice when under arms, conveyed about their persons their own food, some because they had no attendants, others because they could not trust them; for they had long been deserting, and most of them had gone off all at once. Nor was the food which they carried sufficient; for the supplies of the camp had failed. Their disgrace and the universality of the misery, although there might be some consolation in the very community of suffering, were nevertheless at that moment hard to bear, especially when they remembered from what pride and splendor they had fallen into their present low estate. Never had an Hellenic army experienced such a reverse. They had come intending to enslave others, and they were going away in fear that they would be themselves enslaved. Instead of the prayers and hymns with which they had put to sea, they were now departing amid appeals to heaven of another sort. They were no longer sailors but landsmen, depending, not upon their fleet, but upon their infantry. Yet

in face of the great danger which still threatened them all these things appeared endurable.

Nicias, seeing the army disheartened at their terrible fall, went along the ranks and encouraged and consoled them as well as he could. In his fervor he raised his voice as he passed from one to another and spoke louder and louder, desiring that the benefit of his words might reach as far as possible. . . .

Thus exhorting his troops Nicias passed through the army, and wherever he saw gaps in the ranks or the men dropping out of line, he brought them back to their proper place. Demosthenes did the same for the troops under his command, and gave them similar exhortations. The army marched disposed in a hollow oblong: the division of Nicias leading, and that of Demosthenes following; the hoplites enclosed within their ranks the baggage-bearers and the rest of the host. When they arrived at the ford of the river Anapus they found a force of the Syracusans and of their allies drawn up to meet them; these they put to flight, and getting command of the ford, proceeded on their march. The Syracusans continually harassed them, the cavalry riding alongside, and the light-armed troops hurling darts at them. On this day the Athenians proceeded about four and a half miles and encamped at a hill. On the next day they started early, and, having advanced more than two miles, descended into a level plain, and encamped. The country was inhabited, and they were desirous of obtaining food from the houses, and also water which they might carry with them, as there was little to be had for many miles in the country which lay before them. Meanwhile the Syracusans had gone forward, and at a point where the road ascends a steep hill called the Acræan height, and there is a precipitous ravine on either side, were blocking up the pass by a wall. On the next day the Athenians advanced, although again impeded by the numbers of the enemy's cavalry who rode alongside, and of their javelin-men who threw darts at them. For a

long time the Athenians maintained the struggle, but at last retired to their own encampment. Their supplies were now cut off, because the horsemen circumscribed their movements.

In the morning they started early and resumed their march. They pressed onwards to the hill where the way was barred, and found in front of them the Syracusan infantry drawn up to defend the wall, in deep array, for the pass was narrow. Whereupon the Athenians advanced and assaulted the barrier, but the enemy, who were numerous and had the advantage of position, threw missiles upon them from the hill, which was steep, and so, not being able to force their way, they again retired and rested. During the conflict, as is often the case in the fall of the year, there came on a storm of rain and thunder, whereby the Athenians were yet more disheartened, for they thought that everything was conspiring to their destruction. While they were resting, Gylippus and the Syracusans despatched a division of their army to raise a wall behind them across the road by which they had come; but the Athenians sent some of their own troops and frustrated their intention. They then retired with their whole army in the direction of the plain and passed the night. On the following day they again advanced. The Syracusans now surrounded and attacked them on every side, and wounded many of them. If the Athenians advanced they retreated, but charged them when they retired, falling especially upon the hindermost of them, in the hope that, if they could put to flight a few at a time, they might strike a panic into the whole army. In this fashion the Athenians struggled on for a long time, and having advanced about three-quarters of a mile rested in the plain. The Syracusans then left them and returned to their own encampment.

The army was now in a miserable plight, being in want of every necessary; and by the continual assaults of the enemy great numbers of the soldiers had been wounded. Nicias and Demosthenes, perceiving their condition, resolved during the night

to light as many watch-fires as possible and to lead off their forces. They intended to take another route and march towards the sea in the direction opposite to that from which the Syracusans were watching them. Now their whole line of march lay, not towards Catana, but towards the other side of Sicily, in the direction of Camarina and Gela, and the cities, Hellenic or barbarian, of that region. So they lighted numerous fires and departed in the night. And then, as constantly happens in armies, especially in very great ones, and as might be expected when they were marching by night in an enemy's country, and with the enemy from whom they were flying not far off, there arose a panic among them, and they fell into confusion. The army of Nicias, which was leading the way, kept together, and got on considerably in advance, but that of Demosthenes, which was the larger half, was severed from the other division, and marched in worse order. At daybreak, however, they succeeded in reaching the sea, and striking into the Helorine road marched along it, intending as soon as they arrived at the Cacyparis to follow up the course of the river through the interior of the island. They were expecting that the Sicels for whom they had sent would meet them on this road. When they had reached the river they found there also a guard of the Syracusans cutting off the passage by a wall and palisade. They forced their way through and, crossing the river, passed on towards another river which is called the Erineus, this being the direction in which their guides led them.

When daylight broke and the Syracusans and their allies saw that the Athenians had departed, most of them thought that Gylippus had let them go on purpose, and were very angry with him. They easily found the line of their retreat, and quickly following came up with them about the time of the midday meal. The troops of Demosthenes were last; they were marching slowly and in disorder, not having recovered from the panic of the previous night, when they were overtaken by the Syracusans, who

immediately fell upon them and fought. Separated as they were from the others, they were easily hemmed in by the Syracusan cavalry and driven into a narrow space. The division of Nicias was now as much as six miles in advance, for he marched faster, thinking that their safety depended at such a time, not in remaining and fighting, if they could avoid it, but in retreating as quickly as they could, and resisting only when they were positively compelled. Demosthenes, on the other hand, who had been more incessantly harassed throughout the retreat, because marching last he was first attacked by the enemy, now, when he saw the Syracusans pursuing him, instead of pressing onward, ranged his army in order of battle. Thus lingering he was surrounded, and he and the Athenians under his command were in the greatest confusion. For they were crushed into a walled enclosure, having a road on both sides and planted thickly with olive-trees, and missiles were hurled at them from all points. The Syracusans naturally preferred this mode of attack to a regular engagement. For to risk themselves against desperate men would have been only playing into the hands of the Athenians. Moreover, every one was sparing of his life; their good fortune was already assured, and they did not want to fall in the hour of victory. Even by this irregular mode of fighting they thought that they could overpower and capture the Athenians.

And so when they had gone on all day assailing them with missiles from every quarter, and saw that they were quite worn out with their wounds and all their other sufferings, Gylippus and the Syracusans made a proclamation, first of all to the islanders, that any of them who pleased might come over to them and have their freedom. But only a few cities accepted the offer. At length an agreement was made for the entire force under Demosthenes. Their arms were to be surrendered, but no one was to suffer death, either from violence or from imprisonment, or from want of the bare means of life. So they all surrendered, being in number six

thousand, and gave up what money they had. This they threw into the hollows of shields and filled four. The captives were at once taken to the city. On the same day Nicias and his division reached the river Erineus, which he crossed, and halted his army on a rising ground.

On the following day he was overtaken by the Syracusans, who told him that Demosthenes had surrendered, and bade him do the same. He, not believing them, procured a truce while he sent a horseman to go and see. Upon the return of the horseman bringing assurance of the fact, he sent a herald to Gylippus and the Syracusans, saying that he would agree, on behalf of the Athenian state, to pay the expenses which the Syracusans had incurred in the war, on condition that they should let his army go; until the money was paid he would give Athenian citizens as hostages, a man for a talent. Gylippus and the Syracusans would not accept these proposals, but attacked and surrounded this division of the army as they had the other, and hurled missiles at them from every side until the evening. They too were in want of food and necessaries. Nevertheless they meant to wait for the dead of the night and then to proceed. They were just resuming their arms, when the Syracusans discovered them and raised the pæan. The Athenians, perceiving that they were detected, laid down their arms again, with the exception of about three hundred men who broke through the enemy's guard, and made their escape in the darkness as best they could.

When the day dawned Nicias led forward his army, and the Syracusans and the allies again assailed them on every side, hurling javelins and other missiles at them. The Athenians hurried on to the river Assinarus. They hoped to gain a little relief, if they forded the river, for the mass of horsemen and other troops overwhelmed and crushed them; and they were worn out by fatigue and thirst. But no sooner did they reach the water than they lost all order and rushed in; every man was trying to cross

first, and, the enemy pressing upon them at the same time, the passage of the river became hopeless. Being compelled to keep close together they fell one upon another, and trampled each other under foot: some at once perished, pierced by their own spears; others got entangled in the baggage and were carried down the stream. The Syracusans stood upon the further bank of the river, which was steep, and hurled missiles from above on the Athenians, who were huddled together in the deep bed of the stream, and for the most part were drinking greedily. The Peloponnesians came down the bank and slaughtered them, falling chiefly upon those who were in the river. Whereupon the water at once became foul, but was drunk all the same, although muddy and dyed with blood, and the crowd fought for it.

At last, when the dead bodies were lying in heaps upon one another in the water and the army was utterly undone, some perishing in the river, and any who escaped being cut off by the cavalry, Nicias surrendered to Gylippus, in whom he had more confidence than in the Syracusans. He entreated him and the Lacedemonians to do what they pleased with himself, but not to go on killing the men. So Gylippus gave the word to make prisoners. Thereupon the survivors, not including however a large number whom the soldiers concealed, were brought in alive. As for the three hundred who had broken through the guard in the night, the Syracusans sent in pursuit and seized them. The total of the public prisoners when collected was not great; for many were appropriated by the soldiers, and the whole of Sicily was full of them, they not having capitulated like the troops under Demosthenes. A large number also perished; the slaughter at the river being very great, quite as great as any which took place in the Sicilian war; and not a few had fallen in the frequent attacks which were made upon the Athenians during their march. Still many escaped, some at the time, others ran away after an interval of slavery, and all these found refuge at Catana.

The Syracusans and their allies collected their forces and returned with the spoil, and as many prisoners as they could take with them, into the city. The captive Athenians and allies they deposited in the quarries, which they thought would be the safest place of confinement. Nicias and Demosthenes they put to the sword, although against the will of Gylippus. For Gylippus thought that to carry home with him to Lacedemon the generals of the enemy, over and above all his other successes, would be a brilliant triumph. One of them, Demosthenes, happened to be the greatest foe, and the other the greatest friend of the Lacedemonians, both in the same matter of Pylos and Sphacteria. For Nicias had taken up their cause, and had persuaded the Athenians to make the peace which set at liberty the prisoners taken in the island. The Lacedemonians were grateful to him for the service, and this was the main reason why he trusted Gylippus and surrendered himself to him. But certain Syracusans, who had been in communication with him, were afraid (such was the report) that on some suspicion of their guilt he might be put to the torture and bring trouble on them in the hour of their prosperity. Others, and especially the Corinthians, feared that, being rich, he might by bribery escape and do them further mischief. So the Syracusans gained the consent of the allies and had him executed. For these or the like reasons he suffered death. No one of the Hellenes in my time was less deserving of so miserable an end; for he lived in the practice of every virtue.

Those who were imprisoned in the quarries were at the beginning of their captivity harshly treated by the Syracusans. There were great numbers of them, and they were crowded in a deep and narrow place. At first the sun by day was still scorching and suffocating, for they had no roof over their heads, while the autumn nights were cold, and the extremes of temperature engendered violent disorders. Being cramped for room they had to do everything on the same spot. The corpses of those who died

from their wounds, exposure to heat and cold, and the like, lay heaped one upon another. The smells were intolerable; and they were at the same time afflicted by hunger and thirst. During eight months they were allowed only about half a pint of water and a pint of food a day. Every kind of misery which could befall man in such a place befell them. This was the condition of all the captives for about ten weeks. At length the Syracusans sold them, with the exception of the Athenians and of any Sicilian or Italian Greeks who had sided with them in the war. The whole number of the public prisoners is not accurately known, but they were not less than seven thousand.

Of all the Hellenic actions which took place in this war, or indeed, as I think, of all Hellenic actions which are on record, this was the greatest — the most glorious to the victors, the most ruinous to the vanquished; for they were utterly and at all points defeated, and their sufferings were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved, and of the many who went forth few returned home.

Thus ended the Sicilian expedition.

QUESTIONS

1. Was Thucydides an eye-witness of the events described above? 2. What is the value of his account compared with the description of the plague? 3. What was the cause of the Sicilian expedition? 4. How was the Athenian fleet equipped? 5. Do we employ such methods to-day? 6. What were the peculiar ceremonies connected with the starting of the fleet? 7. Did the Athenians expect to be successful? 8. Read aloud the account of the last battle in the harbor of Syracuse. 9. What officers and what classes of men did each vessel bear? 10. Who did the fighting? 11. How was the enemy damaged? 12. Compare this battle with a modern naval battle. 13. To what is this difference due, to our greater courage and superior intellect? 14. What was the condition of the Athenians after the battle? 15. What effect did the victory have on the people of Syracuse? 16. In the retreat of the Athe-

nian army what advantage did the Syracusans have in the attack upon it? 17. Read aloud the description of the retreat. It ranks very high as a piece of historical description. 18. What features of the treatment of the Athenian captives by the Syracusans would be looked upon to-day as barbarous? 19. Compare these practices with the treatment of the Russian prisoners by the Japanese in the war of 1904–1905.

C. The War in the Ægean

a. Return of Alcibiades

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, pp. 16–18

1. Meanwhile Alcibiades, with the moneys lately collected and his fleet of twenty ships, left Samos and visited Paros. From Paros he stood out to sea across to Gytheum, to keep an eye on the thirty ships of war which, as he was informed, the Lacedemonians were equipping in that arsenal. Gytheum would also be a favorable point of observation from which to gauge the disposition of his fellow-countrymen and the prospects of his recall. When at length their good disposition seemed to him established, not only by his election as general, but by the messages of invitation which he received in private from his friends, he sailed home, and entered Piræus on the very day of the festival of the Plunteria, when the statue of Athena is veiled and screened from public gaze. This was a coincidence, as some thought, of evil omen, and unpropitious alike to himself and the state, for no Athenian would transact serious business on such a day. As he sailed into the harbor, two great crowds, — one from the Piræus, the other from the city, — flocked to meet the vessels. Wonderment, mixed with a desire to see Alcibiades, was the prevailing sentiment of the multitude. Of him they spoke: some asserting that he was the best of citizens, and that in his sole instance banishment had been ill-deserved. He had been the victim of plots, hatched in the brains of people less able than himself, however much they might excel in pestilent speech; men whose one principle of statecraft was to look to their

private gains; whereas this man's policy had ever been to uphold the common weal, as much by his private means as by all the power of the state. His own choice, eight years ago, when the charge of impiety in the matter of the mysteries was still fresh, would have been to submit to trial at once. It was his personal foes, who had succeeded in postponing that undeniably just procedure; who waited till his back was turned, and then robbed him of his fatherland. Then it was that, being made the very slave of circumstance, he was driven to court the men he hated most; and at a time when his own life was in daily peril, he must see his dearest friends and fellow-citizens, nay, the very state itself, bent on a suicidal course, and yet, in the exclusion of exile, be unable to lend a helping hand. "It is not men of this stamp," they averred, "who desire changes in affairs and revolution: had he not already guaranteed to him by the democracy a position higher than that of his equals in age, and scarcely if at all inferior to his seniors? How different was the position of his enemies. It had been the fortune of these, though they were known to be the same men they had always been, to use their lately acquired power for the destruction in the first instance of the better classes; and then, being alone left surviving, to be accepted by their fellow-citizens in the absence of better men."

Others, however, insisted that for all their past miseries and misfortunes Alcibiades alone was responsible: "If more trials were still in store for the state, here was the master mischief-maker ready at his post to precipitate them."

When the vessels came to their moorings, close to the land, Alcibiades, from fear of his enemies, was unwilling to disembark at once. Mounting on the quarterdeck, he scanned the multitude, anxious to make certain of the presence of his friends. Presently his eyes lit upon Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, who was his cousin, and then on the rest of his relations and other friends. Upon this he landed, and so, in the midst of an escort

ready to put down any attempt upon his person, made his way to the city.

In the senate and public assembly he made speeches, defending himself against the charge of impiety, and asserting that he had been the victim of injustice, with other like topics, which in the present temper of the assembly no one ventured to gainsay.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was Alcibiades uncertain of what his reception would be at Athens? 2. Why should the Athenians have elected him general? 3. Were the Athenians superstitious? 4. What, according to Xenophon, were the two discordant views of the conduct of Alcibiades held at Athens? 5. How can we tell which view was the true one? 6. Did Xenophon know? 7. How did he know what the people of Athens thought of Alcibiades? 8. Was it an enthusiastic crowd that went to the harbor to greet Alcibiades? 9. Did he trust the Athenians? 10. Did he believe that they all believed that he was an honest man?

b. Battle of Ægospotami

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, pp. 41–43

1. And now the Athenian fleet, following close on his heels, came to moorings at Elæus, in the Chersonesus, one hundred and eighty sail in all. It was not until they had reached this place, and were getting their early meal, that the news of what had happened at Lampsacus reached them. Then they instantly set sail again to Sestos and, having halted long enough merely to take in stores, sailed on further to Ægospotami, a point facing Lampsacus, where the Hellespont is not quite two miles broad. Here they took their evening meal.

The night following, or rather early next morning, with the first streak of dawn, Lysander gave the signal for the men to take their breakfasts and get on board their vessels; and so, having got all ready for a naval engagement, with his ports closed and

movable bulwarks attached, he issued the order that no one was to stir from his post or put out to sea. As the sun rose the Athenians drew up their vessels facing the harbor, in line of battle ready for action; but Lysander declining to come out to meet them, as the day advanced they retired again to Ægospotami. Then Lysander ordered the swiftest of his ships to follow the Athenians, and as soon as the crews had disembarked, to watch what they did, sail back, and report to him. Until these look-outs returned he would permit no disembarkation from his ships. This performance he repeated for four successive days, and each day the Athenians put out to sea and challenged an engagement.

But now Alcibiades, from one of his fortresses, could espy the position of his fellow-countrymen, moored on an open beach beyond reach of any city, and forced to send for supplies to Sestos, which was nearly two miles distant, while their enemies were safely lodged in a harbor, with a city adjoining, and everything within reach. The situation did not please him, and he advised them to shift their anchorage to Sestos, where they would have the advantage of a harbor and a city. "Once there," he concluded, "you can engage the enemy whenever it suits you." But the generals, and more particularly Tydeus and Menander, bade him go about his business. "We are generals now — not you," they said; and so he went away. And now for five days in succession the Athenians had sailed out to offer battle, and for the fifth time retired, followed by the same swift sailors of the enemy. But this time Lysander's orders to the vessels so sent in pursuit were that as soon as they saw the enemy's crew fairly disembarked and dispersed along the shores of the Chersonesus (a practice, it should be mentioned, which had grown upon them from day to day, owing to the distance at which eatables had to be purchased, and out of sheer contempt, no doubt, of Lysander, who refused to accept battle), they were to begin their return voyage, and when in mid-channel to hoist a shield. The orders were punctually carried

out, and Lysander at once signalled to his whole squadron to put across with all speed, while Thorax, with the land forces, was to march parallel with the fleet along the coast. Aware of the enemy's fleet, which he could see bearing down upon him, Conon had only time to signal to the crews to join their ships and rally to the rescue with all their might. But the men were scattered far and wide, and some of the vessels had only two out of their three banks of rowers, some only a single one, while others again were completely empty. Conon's own ship, with seven others in attendance on him and the *Paralus*, put out to sea, a little cluster of nine vessels, with their full complement of men; but every one of the remaining one hundred and seventy-one vessels were captured by Lysander on the beach. As to the men themselves, the large majority of them were easily made prisoners on shore, a few only escaping to the small fortresses of the neighborhood. Meanwhile Conon and his nine vessels made good their escape. For himself, knowing that the fortune of Athens was ruined, he put into Abarnis, the promontory of Lampsacus, and there picked up the great sails of Lysander's ships, and then with eight ships set sail himself to seek refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, while the *Paralus* started for Athens with tidings of what had taken place.

QUESTIONS

1. To what was the loss of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami due? 2. Why did Lysander not attack the Athenians after their first disembarkation? 3. Were the Athenians aware of the weakness of the position that they had chosen? 4. Was the battle of Ægospotami a naval battle?

c. The Fall of Athens

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, pp. 44–48

It was night when the *Paralus* reached Athens with her evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From

Piræus, following the line of the long walls up to the heart of the city, it swept and swelled, as each man to his neighbor passed on the news. On that night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those that were lost, but the lamentation for the dead was merged in even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer, the like of which they had themselves inflicted upon the men of Melos, who were colonists of the Lacedemonians when they mastered them by siege. Or on the men of Histiæa; on Scione and Torone; on the Æginetans, and many another Hellene city. On the following day the public assembly met, and, after debate, it was resolved to block up all the harbors save one, to put the walls in a state of defence, to post guards at various points, and to make all other necessary preparation for a siege. Such were the concerns of the men of Athens.

Lysander presently left the Hellespont with two hundred sail and arrived at Lesbos, where he established a new order of things in Mitylene and the other cities of the island. Meanwhile he despatched Eteonicus with a squadron of ten ships to the northern coasts, where that officer brought about a revolution of affairs which placed the whole region in the hands of Lacedemon. Indeed, in a moment of time, after the sea-fight, the whole of Hellas had revolted from Athens, with the solitary exception of the men of Samos. These, having massacred the notables, held the state under their control. After a while Lysander sent messages to Agis at Deceleia, and to Lacedemon, announcing his approach with a squadron of two hundred sail.

In obedience to a general order of Pausanias, the other king of Lacedemon, a levy in force of the Lacedemonians and all the rest of Peloponnesus, except the Argives, was set in motion for a campaign. As soon as the several contingents had arrived, the king put himself at their head and marched against Athens, encamping in the gymnasium of the Academy, as it is called. Lysander had

now reached Ægina, where, having got together as many of the former inhabitants as possible, he formally reinstated them in their city; and what he did in behalf of the Æginetans, he did also in behalf of the Melians, and of the rest who had been deprived of their countries. He then pillaged the island of Salamis, and finally came to moorings off Piræus with one hundred and fifty ships of the line, and established a strict blockade against all merchant ships entering that harbor.

The Athenians, finding themselves besieged by land and sea, were in sore perplexity what to do. Without ships, without allies, without provisions, the belief gained hold upon them that there was no way of escape. They must now, in their turn, suffer what they had themselves inflicted upon others; not in retaliation, indeed, for ills received, but out of sheer insolence, overriding the citizens of petty states, and for no better reason than that these were allies of the very men now at their gates. In this frame of mind they enfranchised those who at any time had lost their civil rights, and schooled themselves to endurance; and, albeit many succumbed to starvation, no thought of truce or reconciliation with their foes was breathed. But when the stock of corn was absolutely insufficient, they sent an embassage to Agis, proposing to become allies of the Lacedemonians on the sole condition of keeping their fortification walls and Piræus; and to draw up articles of treaty on these terms. Agis bade them betake themselves to Lacedemon, seeing that he had no authority to act himself. With this answer the ambassadors returned to Athens, and were forthwith sent on to Lacedemon. On reaching Sellasia, a town in Laconian territory, they waited till they got their answer from the ephors, who, having learnt their terms (which were identical with those already proposed to Agis), bade them instantly to be gone, and, if they really desired peace, to come with other proposals, the fruit of happier reflection. Thus the ambassadors returned home, and reported the result of their

FIG. 15. TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT PÆSTUM

embassage, whereupon despondency fell upon all. It was a painful reflection that in the end they would be sold into slavery; and meanwhile, pending the return of a second embassy, many must needs fall victims to starvation. The razing of their fortifications was not a solution which any one cared to recommend. A senator, Archestratus, had indeed put the question in the senate, whether it were not best to make peace with the Lacedemonians on such terms as they were willing to propose; but he was thrown into prison. The Laconian proposals referred to involved the destruction of both long walls for a space of more than a mile. And a decree had been passed making it illegal to submit any such proposition about the walls. Things having reached this pass, Theramenes made a proposal in the public assembly as follows: If they chose to send him as an ambassador to Lysander, he would go and find out why the Lacedemonians were so unyielding about the walls; whether it was they really intended to enslave the city, or merely that they wanted a guarantee of good faith. Despatched accordingly, he lingered on with Lysander for three whole months and more, watching for the time when the Athenians, at the last pinch of starvation, would be willing to accede to any terms that might be offered. At last, in the fourth month, he returned and reported to the public assembly that Lysander had detained him all this while, and had ended by bidding him betake himself to Lacedemon, since he had no authority himself to answer his questions, which must be addressed directly to the ephors. After this Theramenes was chosen with nine others to go to Lacedemon as ambassadors with full powers. Meanwhile Lysander had sent an Athenian exile, named Aristoteles, in company of certain Lacedemonians, to Sparta to report to the board of ephors how he had answered Theramenes, that they, and they alone, had supreme authority in matters of peace and war.

Theramenes and his companions presently reached Sellasia, and being here questioned as to the reason of their visit, replied that

they had full powers to treat of peace. After which the ephors ordered them to be summoned to their presence. On their arrival a general assembly was convened, in which the Corinthians and Thebans more particularly, though their views were shared by many other Hellenes also, urged the meeting not to come to terms with the Athenians, but to destroy them. The Lacedemonians replied that they would never reduce to slavery a city which was itself an integral portion of Hellas, and had performed a great and noble service to Hellas in the most perilous of emergencies. On the contrary, they were willing to offer peace on the terms now specified — namely, "That the long walls and the fortifications of Piræus should be destroyed; that the Athenian fleet, with the exception of twelve vessels, should be surrendered; that the exiles should be restored; and lastly, that the Athenians should acknowledge the headship of Sparta in peace and war, leaving to her the choice of friends and foes, and following her lead by land and sea." Such were the terms which Theramenes and the rest who acted with him were able to report on their return to Athens. As they entered the city, a vast crowd met them, trembling lest their mission should have proved fruitless. For indeed delay was no longer possible, so long already was the list of victims daily perishing from starvation. On the day following, the ambassadors delivered their report, stating the terms upon which the Lacedemonians were willing to make peace. Theramenes acted as spokesman, insisting that they ought to obey the Lacedemonians and pull down the walls. A small minority raised their voice in opposition, but the majority were strongly in favor of the proposition, and the resolution was passed to accept the peace. After that, Lysander sailed into the Piræus, and the exiles were readmitted. And so they fell to levelling the fortifications and walls with much enthusiasm, to the accompaniment of female flute-players, deeming that day the beginning of liberty to Greece.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the *Paralus?* 2. Why were the Athenians so affected by the loss of a fleet? 3. Would the Spartans have been effected in the same way had their fleet been destroyed? 4. What was the first effect of the destruction of the Athenian navy? 5. What was the next natural consequence? 6. Could the Athenians hope to defend their city long against the Lacedemonians? 7. How did the Athenians conduct themselves under such trying circumstances? 8. What were the terms they offered the Spartans, and how were they received? 9. Can we feel sure that Xenophon knew as much about the motives as about the acts of Theramenes? 10. Why were the Corinthians and Thebans so hostile to Athens? 11. What terms did the Spartans finally grant to the Athenians? 12. What change did the acceptance of these terms make in the position of Athens in the Greek world? 13. Why did the enemies of Athens attach so much importance to the destruction of its walls? 14. Is it true that the day that they were destroyed marked "the beginning of liberty to Greece"?

FIG. 16. ALTAR OF DIONYSUS

VIII. SOCRATES AND HIS TEACHING

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 1–2

1. I have often wondered by what arguments the accusers of Socrates persuaded the Athenians that he deserved death from the state; for the indictment against him was to this effect: 1. Socrates offends against the laws in not paying respect to those gods whom the city respects, and introducing other new deities; he also offends against the laws in corrupting the youth. 2. In the first place, that he did not respect the gods whom the city respects, what proof did they bring? For he was seen frequently sacrificing at home, and frequently on the public altars of the city; nor was it unknown that he used divination; as it was a common subject of talk, that "Socrates used to say that the divinity instructed him;" and it was from this circumstance, indeed, that they seem chiefly to have derived the charge of introducing new deities. 3. He however introduced nothing newer than those who, practising divination, consult auguries, voices, omens, and sacrifices; for they do not imagine that birds, or people who meet them, know what is advantageous for those seeking presages, but that the gods, by their means, signify what will be so; and such was the opinion that Socrates entertained. 4. Most people say that they are diverted from an object, or prompted to it, by birds, or by the people who meet them; but Socrates spoke as he thought, for he said it was the divinity that was his monitor. He also told many of his friends to do certain things, and not to do others, intimating that the divinity had forewarned him; and advantage attended those who obeyed his suggestions, but repentance, those who disregarded them.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 4–5

2. He was constantly in public, for he went in the morning to the places for walking and the gymnasia; at the time when the market was full he was to be seen there; and the rest of the day he was where he was likely to meet the greatest number of people; he was generally engaged in discourse, and all who pleased were at liberty to hear him; yet no one ever either saw Socrates doing, or heard him saying, anything impious or profane; for he did not dispute about the nature of things as most other philosophers disputed, speculating how that which is called by sophists *the world* was produced, and by what necessary laws everything in the heavens is effected, but endeavored to show that those who chose such subjects of contemplation were foolish; and he used in the first place to inquire of them whether they thought that they already knew sufficient of human affairs, and therefore proceeded to such subjects of meditation, or whether, when they neglected human affairs entirely, and speculated on celestial matters, they thought that they were doing what became them.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 6–7

3. Such were the observations which he made about those who busied themselves in such speculations; but for himself, he would hold discourse, from time to time, on what concerned mankind, considering what was pious, what impious; what was becoming, what unbecoming; what was just, what unjust; what was sanity, what insanity; what was fortitude, what cowardice; what a state was, and what the character of a statesman; what was the nature of government over men, and the qualities of one skilled in governing them; and touching on other subjects, with which he thought that those who were acquainted were men of worth and estimation, but that those who were ignorant of them might justly be deemed no better than slaves.

For when he was a member of the senate, and had taken the

senator's oath, in which it was expressed that *he would vote in accordance with the laws*, he, being president in the assembly of the people when they were eager to put to death Thrasyllus, Erasinides, and their colleagues, by a single vote contrary to the law, refused, though the multitude were enraged at him, and many of those in power uttered threats against him, to put the question to the vote, but considered it of more importance to observe his oath than to gratify the people contrary to what was right, or to seek safety against those who menaced him.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 8–9

4. It also seems wonderful to me, that any should have been persuaded that Socrates corrupted the youth; Socrates, who, in addition to what has been said of him, was not only the most rigid of all men in the government of his passions and appetites, but also most able to withstand cold, heat, and every kind of labor; and, besides, so inured to frugality, that, though he possessed very little, he very easily made it a sufficiency. How, then, being of such a character himself, could he have rendered others impious, or lawless, or luxurious, or incontinent, or too effeminate to endure labor? On the contrary, he restrained many of them from such vices, leading them to love virtue, and giving them hopes, that if they would take care of themselves, they would become honorable and worthy characters.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 24–25

5. The accuser also said that Socrates, selecting the worst passages of the most celebrated poets, and using them as arguments, taught those who kept him company to be unprincipled and tyrannical. The verse of Hesiod, for example,

Work is no disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace,

they say that he used to explain as intimating that the poet bids us abstain from no kind of work, dishonest or dishonorable, but

to do such work for the sake of profit. But when Socrates maintained that to be busy was useful and beneficial for a man, and that to be unemployed was noxious and ill for him, that to work was a good, and to be idle an evil, he at the same time observed that those only who do something good really work, and are useful workmen, but those who gamble, or do anything bad and pernicious, he called idle; and in this view the sentiment of the poet will be unobjectionable,

Work is no disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 28–31

6. To the gods he simply prayed that they would give him good things, as believing that the gods knew best what things are good; and those who prayed for gold, or silver, or dominion, or anything of that kind, he considered to utter no other sort of requests than if they were to pray that they might play at dice, or fight, or do anything else of which it is quite uncertain what the result will be.

When he offered small sacrifices from his small means, he thought that he was not at all inferior in merit to those who offered numerous and great sacrifices from ample and abundant means; for he said that it would not become the gods to delight in large rather than in small sacrifices; since, if such were the case, the offerings of the bad would oftentimes be more acceptable to them than those of the good; nor would life be of any account in the eyes of men, if oblations from the bad were better received by the gods than oblations from the good; but he thought that the gods had most pleasure in the offerings of the most pious. He also used to quote, with approbation, the verse,

Perform sacrifices to the gods according to your ability,

and used to say that it was a good exhortation to men, with regard to friends, and guests, and all other relations of life, *to perform according to their ability.*

If anything appeared to be intimated to him from the gods, he could no more have been persuaded to act contrary to such intimation than any one could have persuaded him to take for his guide on a journey a blind man, or one who did not know the way, instead of one who could see, and did know it; and he condemned the folly of others, who act contrary to what is signified by the gods, through anxiety to avoid the ill opinion of men. As for himself, he undervalued everything human, in comparison with counsel from the gods.

He disciplined his mind and body by such a course of life, that he who should adopt a similar one, would, if no supernatural influence prevented, live in good spirits and uninterrupted health; nor would he ever be in want of the necessary expenses for it. So frugal was he, that I do not know whether any one could earn so little by the labor of his hands, as not to procure sufficient to have satisfied Socrates. He took only so much food as he could eat with a keen relish; and, to this end, he came to his meals so disposed that the appetite for his meat was the sauce to it. Every kind of drink was agreeable to him, because he never drank unless he was thirsty. If he ever complied with an invitation to go to a feast, he very easily guarded, what is extremely difficult to most men, against loading his stomach to excess. Those who were unable to do so, he advised to be cautious of eating when they were not hungry, and of drinking when they were not thirsty; for he said that those were the things that disordered the stomach, the head, and the mind; and he used to say, in jest, that he thought Circe transformed men into swine by entertaining them with abundance of such luxuries, but that Ulysses, through the admonition of Mercury, and through being himself temperate, and forbearing to partake of such delicacies to excess, was in consequence not changed into a swine.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 43–44

7. Antipho, on one occasion, wishing to draw away his associates from him, came up to Socrates, when they were present, and

said, "I thought, Socrates, that those who studied philosophy were to become happier than other men; but you seem to have reaped from philosophy fruits of an opposite kind; at least you live in a way in which no slave would continue to live with his master; you eat food, and drink drink, of the worst kind; you wear a dress, not only bad, but the same both summer and winter, and you continue shoeless and coatless. Money, which cheers men when they receive it, and enables those who possess it to live more generously and pleasantly, you do not take; and if, therefore, as teachers in other professions make their pupils imitate themselves, you also shall produce a similar effect on your followers, you must consider yourself but a teacher of wretchedness."

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, p. 46

8. "You, Antipho, resemble one who thinks that happiness consists in luxury and extravagance; but I think that to want nothing is to resemble the gods, and that to want as little as possible is to make the nearest approach to the gods; that the divine nature is perfection, and that to be nearest to the divine nature is to be nearest to perfection."

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, p. 59

9. But indolence, moreover, and pleasures which offer themselves without being sought, are neither capable of producing a good constitution of body, as the teachers of gymnastic exercises say, nor do they bring to the mind any knowledge worthy of consideration; but exercises pursued with persevering labor lead men to the attainment of honorable and valuable objects, as worthy men inform us; and Hesiod somewhere says,

"Vice it is possible to find in abundance and with ease; for the way to it is smooth, and lies very near. But before the temple of Virtue the immortal gods have placed labour, and the way to

it is long and steep, and at the commencement rough; but when the traveller has arrived at the summit, it then becomes easy, however difficult it was at first."

A sentiment to which Epicharmus gives his testimony in this verse,

"The gods for labor sell us all good things;"

and in another place he says,

"O wretched mortal, desire not what is soft, lest you find what is hard."

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 174–177

10. "And why should not I," asked Euthydemus, "be able to tell the works of justice; as also indeed those of injustice; for we may see and hear of no small number of them every day?"

"Are you willing then," said Socrates, "that we should make a *delta* on this side, and an *alpha* on that, and then that we should put whatever seems to us to be a work of justice under the *delta*, and whatever seems to be a work of injustice under the *alpha?*" "If you think that we need those letters," said Euthydemus, "make them." Socrates, having made the letters as he proposed, asked, "Does falsehood then exist among mankind?" "It does assuredly," replied he. "Under which head shall we place it?" "Under injustice, certainly." "Does deceit also exist?" "Unquestionably." "Under which head shall we place that?" "Evidently under injustice." "Does mischievousness exist?" "Undoubtedly." "And the enslaving of men?" "That, too, prevails." "And shall neither of these things be placed by us under justice, Euthydemus?" "It would be strange if they should be," said he. "But," said Socrates, "if a man, being chosen to lead an army, should reduce to slavery an unjust and hostile people, should we say that he committed injustice?" "No, certainly," replied he. "Should we not rather say that he acted justly?" "Indisputably." "And if, in the course

of the war with them, he should practise deceit?" "That also would be just," said he. "And if he should steal and carry off their property, would he not do what was just?" "Certainly," said Euthydemus; "but I thought at first that you asked these questions only with reference to our friends." "Then," said Socrates, "all that we have placed under the head of injustice, we must also place under that of justice." "It seems so," replied Euthydemus. "Do you agree, then," continued Socrates, "that, having so placed them, we should make a new distinction, that it is just to do such things with regard to enemies, but unjust to do them with regard to friends, and that towards his friends our general should be as guileless as possible?" "By all means," replied Euthydemus. "Well, then," said Socrates, "if a general, seeing his army dispirited, should tell them, inventing a falsehood, that auxiliaries were coming, and should, by that invention, check the despondency of his troops, under which head should we place such an act of deceit?" "It appears to me," said Euthydemus, "that we must place it under justice." "And if a father, when his son requires medicine, and refuses to take it, should deceive him, and give him the medicine as ordinary food, and, by adopting such deception, should restore him to health, under which head must we place such an act of deceit?" "It appears to me that we must place it under the same head." "And if a person, when his friend was in despondency, should, through fear that he might kill himself, steal or take away his sword, or any other weapon, under which head must we place that act?" "That, assuredly, we must place under justice." "You say, then," said Socrates, "that not even towards our friends must we act on all occasions without deceit?" "We must not indeed," said he, "for I retract what I said before, if I may be permitted to do so." "It is indeed much better that you should be permitted," said Socrates, "than that you should not place actions on the right side. But of those who deceive their friends in

order to injure them (that we may not leave even this point unconsidered), which of the two is the more unjust, he who does so intentionally or he who does so involuntarily?"

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 190–191

11. "And that I speak the truth, you yourself also well know, if you do not expect to see the bodily forms of the gods, but will be content, as you behold their works, to worship and honor them. Reflect, too, that the gods themselves give us this intimation; for the other deities that give us blessings do not bestow any of them by coming manifestly before our sight; and he that orders and holds together the whole universe, in which are all things beautiful and good, and who preserves it, for us who enjoy it, always unimpaired, undisordered, and undecaying, obeying his will swifter than thought and without irregularity, is himself manifested (only) in the performance of his mighty works, but is invisible to us while he regulates them.

"The soul of man, moreover, which partakes of the divine nature if anything else in man does, rules, it is evident, within us, but is itself unseen. Meditating on these facts, therefore, it behoves you not to despise the unseen gods, but, estimating their power from what is done by them, to reverence what is divine."

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 193–194

12. Concerning justice, too, he did not conceal what sentiments he entertained, but made them manifest even by his actions, for he conducted himself, in his private capacity, justly and beneficently towards all men, and, as a citizen, he obeyed the magistrates in all that the laws enjoined, both in the city and on military expeditions, so that he was distinguished above other men for his observance of order. When he was president in the public assembly, he would not permit the people to give a vote contrary to law, but opposed himself, in defence of the laws, to

such a storm of rage on the part of the populace as I think that no other man could have withstood. When the Thirty Tyrants commanded him to do anything contrary to the laws, he refused to obey them; for both when they forbade him to converse with the young, and when they ordered him, and some others of the citizens, to lead a certain person away to death, he alone did not obey, because the order was given contrary to the laws. When he was accused by Meletus, and others were accustomed, before the tribunal, to speak so as to gain the favor of the judges, and to flatter them, and supplicate them, in violation of the laws, and many persons, by such practices, had often been acquitted by the judges, he refused, on his trial, to comply with any practices opposed to the laws, and though he might easily have been acquitted by his judges, if he had but in a slight degree adopted any of those customs, he chose rather to die abiding by the laws than to save his life by transgressing them.

QUESTIONS

1. What two charges were made against Socrates by the Athenian people? 2. What reasons does Xenophon give for not believing in the truth of the charges? 3. Is it possible that the Athenians believed them to be true? 4. What was the manner of life of Socrates, *i.e.* how did he dress, what did he eat, and how did he pass his time? 5. What was his method of teaching and where did he teach? 6. Why did he teach? 7. What was his belief concerning the gods and the way in which they spoke to men? 8. Enumerate some of his teachings that seem excellent to you. 9. What was his teaching concerning prayers and sacrifice? 10. What was his philosophy of life? 11. How did his religion differ from that reflected in the *Iliad?* In the plays of Sophocles? 12. How did Xenophon learn of the teachings of Socrates and of his manner of life? 13. Can we feel certain that Xenophon has not at times substituted his own views for those of Socrates?

IX. THE SPARTAN SUPREMACY

A. Agesilaus in Asia Minor

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, p. 29

1. B.C. 395. — After this, at the first faint indication of spring, he (Agesilaus) collected the whole of his army at Ephesus. But the army needed training. With that object he proposed a series of prizes — prizes to the several heavy infantry regiments, to be by those who presented their men in the best condition; prizes won for the cavalry regiments which could ride best; prizes for those divisions of peltasts and archers which proved most efficient in their respective duties. And now the gymnasiums were a sight to see, thronged as they were, one and all, with warriors stripped for exercise; or again, the hippodrome crowded with horses and riders performing their evolutions; or the javelin men and archers going through their peculiar drill. In fact, the whole city where he lay presented under his hands a spectacle not to be forgotten. The market-place literally teemed with horses, arms, and accoutrements of all sorts for sale. The bronze-worker, the carpenter, the smith, the leather-cutter, the painter and embosser, were all busily engaged in fabricating the implements of war; so that the city of Ephesus itself was fairly converted into a military workshop. It would have done a man's heart good to see those long lines of soldiers with Agesilaus at their head, as they stepped gayly begarlanded from the gymnasiums to dedicate their wreaths to the goddess Artemis. Nor can I well conceive of elements more fraught with hope than were here combined. Here were reverence and piety towards heaven; here practice in war and military training; here discipline with habitual obedience to authority. But

contempt for one's enemy will infuse a kind of strength in battle. So the Spartan leader argued; and with a view to its production he ordered the quartermasters to put up the prisoners who had been captured by his foraging bands for auction, stripped naked; so that his Hellene soldiery, as they looked at the white skins which had never been bared to sun and wind, the soft limbs unused to toil through constant riding in carriages, came to the conclusion that war with such adversaries would differ little from a fight with women.

QUESTIONS

1. How did Agesilaus prepare his army for the war against the Persians? 2. Which of these methods are still used in modern armies? 3. Which would not be tolerated to-day? 4. Did the Spartans need such training as is indicated in this passage? 5. What proof of the influence of religion upon Greek life do you find in this extract?

B. The Corinthian War

a. Persia uses Gold against Sparta

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, p. 32

1. But now Tithraustes seemed to have discovered in Agesilaus a disposition to despise the fortunes of the Persian monarch — he evidently had no intention to withdraw from Asia; on the contrary, he was cherishing hopes vast enough to include the capture of the king himself. Being at his wits' end how to manage matters, he resolved to send Timocrates the Rhodian to Hellas with a gift of gold worth fifty silver talents, and enjoined upon him to endeavor to exchange solemn pledges with the leading men in the several states, binding them to undertake a war against Lacedemon. Timocrates arrived and began to dole out his presents. In Thebes he gave gifts to Androcleidas, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus; in Corinth to Timolaus and Polyanthes; in Argos to Cylon and

his party. The Athenians, though they took no share of the gold, were none the less eager for the war, being of opinion that empire was theirs by right. The recipients of the moneys forthwith began covertly to attack the Lacedemonians in the respective states and, when they had brought these to a sufficient pitch of hatred, bound together the most important of them in a confederacy.

QUESTIONS

1. How did Tithraustes hope to protect Persia against the Spartans? 2. Was such a plan honorable? 3. Were the Greek statesmen who took Persian gold dishonorable? 4. Do you believe that Xenophon knew with certainty that these men were bribed? 5. Is it easy to prove such things? 6. Was there any reason why the Greek states should not receive Persian gold, and unite to throw off Spartan control? 7. Compare, in number of states, the European world of the Mediterranean, at this time, with the larger European world of to-day. 8. Was it any less natural for a Greek state to combine with Persia against Sparta than for England to aid Turkey against Russia, for example? 9. What is the ruling motive in each case? 10. If there should be war between the United States and Canada, and New York state were to aid Canada against the United States, would we have a similar case?

b. The Battle of Coronea

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 55–57

1. To confront Agesilaus stood an army composed of the Bœotians, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Ænianians, Eubœans, and both divisions of the Locrians. Agesilaus on his side had with him a division of Lacedemonians, which had crossed from Corinth, also half the division from Orchomenus; besides which there were the neodamodes from Lacedemon, on service with him already; and in addition to these the foreign contingent under Herippidas; and again the quota furnished by the Hellenic cities in Asia, with others from the cities in Europe which he had brought over

during his progress; and lastly, there were additional levies from the spot — Orchomenian and Phocian heavy infantry. In light-armed troops, it must be admitted, the numbers told heavily in favor of Agesilaus, but the cavalry on both sides were fairly balanced.

Such were the forces of either party. I will describe the battle itself, if only on account of certain features which distinguish it from the battles of our time. The two armies met on the plain of Coronea — the troops of Agesilaus advancing from the Cephissus, the Thebans and their allies from the slopes of Helicon. Agesilaus commanded his own right in person, with the men of Orchomenus on his extreme left. The Thebans formed their own right, while the Argives held their left. As they drew together, for a while deep silence reigned on either side; but when they were not more than a furlong apart, with a loud hurrah the Thebans, quickening to a run, rushed furiously to close quarters; and now there was barely a hundred yards' breadth between the armies, when Herippidas with his foreign brigade, and with them the Ionians, Æolians, and Hellespontines, darted out from the Spartans' battle-lines to greet their onset. One and all of the above played their part in the first rush forward; in another instant they were within spear-thrust of the enemy, and had routed the section immediately before them. As to the Argives, they actually declined to receive the attack of Agesilaus, and betook themselves in flight to Helicon. At this moment some of the foreign division were already in the act of crowning Ægesilaus with the wreath of victory, when some one brought him word that the Thebans had cut through the Orchomenians and were in among the baggage train. At this the Spartan general immediately turned his army right about and advanced against them. The Thebans, on their side, catching sight of their allies withdrawn in flight to the base of Helicon, and anxious to get across to their own friends, formed in close order and tramped forward stoutly.

At this point no one will dispute the valor of Agesilaus, but he certainly did not choose the safest course. It was open to him to make way for the enemy to pass, which done, he might have hung upon his heels and mastered his rear. This, however, he refused to do, preferring to crash full front against the Thebans. Thereupon, with close interlock of shield wedged in with shield, they shoved, they fought, they dealt death, they breathed out life, till at last a portion of the Thebans broke their way through towards Helicon, but paid for that departure by the loss of many lives. And now the victory of Agesilaus was fairly won, and he himself, wounded, had been carried back to the main line, when a party of horse came galloping up to tell him that something like eighty of the enemy, under arms, were sheltering under the temple, and they asked what they ought to do. Agesilaus, though he was covered with wounds, did not, for all that, forget his duty to God. He gave orders to let them retire unscathed, and would not suffer any injury to be done to them. And now, seeing it was already late, they took their suppers and retired to rest.

QUESTIONS

1. Were the Spartans at Coronea obliged to fight single-handed against all the other Greek states supported by Persia? 2. Describe the battle of Coronea. 3. What mistake did the Thebans make? 4. How did the Thebans compare with the Spartans as fighters? 5. What interesting customs do you notice in Xenophon's account of the battle that would not appear in an account of a modern battle? 6. Why did Agesilaus' men not seize the enemy beneath the temple?

c. Persia the Arbiter in the Affairs of Greece

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 81–82

1. B.C. 392. — The Lacedemonians were well informed of the proceedings of Conon. They knew that he was not only restoring the fortifications of Athens by help of the king's gold, but main-

taining a fleet at his expense besides, and conciliating the islands and seaboard cities towards Athens. If, therefore, they could indoctrinate Tiribazus — who was a general of the king — with their sentiments, they believed they could not fail either to draw him aside to their own interests, or, at any rate, to put a stop to his feeding Conon's navy. With this intention they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus: his orders were to carry out this policy, and, if possible, to arrange a peace between Lacedemon and the king. The Athenians, getting wind of this, sent a counter-embassy, consisting of Hermogenes, Dion, Callisthenes, and Callimedon, with Conon himself. They at the same time invited the attendance of ambassadors from the allies, and there were also present representatives of the Bœotians, of Corinth, and of Argos. When they had arrived at their destination, Antalcidas explained to Tiribazus the object of his visit: he wished, if possible, to cement a peace between the state he represented and the king — a peace, moreover, exactly suited to the aspirations of the king himself; in other words, the Lacedemonians gave up all claim to the Hellenic cities in Asia as against the king, while for their own part they were content that all the islands and other cities should be independent. "Such being our unbiassed wishes," he continued, "for what earthly reason should (the Hellenes or) the king go to war with us? Or why should he expend his money? The king is guaranteed against attack on the part of Hellas, since the Athenians are powerless apart from our hegemony, and we are powerless so long as the separate states are independent." The proposals of Antalcidas sounded very pleasantly in the ears of Tiribazus, but to the opponents of Sparta they were the merest talk. The Athenians were apprehensive of an agreement which provided for the independence of the cities in the islands, whereby they might be deprived of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros. The Thebans, again, were afraid of being compelled to let the Bœotian states go free. The Argives did not see how such treaty contracts and covenants were

compatible with the realization of their own great object — the absorption of Corinth by Argos. And so it came to pass that this peace proved abortive, and the representatives departed each to his own home.

Tiribazus, on his side, thought it hardly consistent with his own safety to adopt the cause of the Lacedemonians without the concurrence of the king — a scruple which did not prevent him from privately presenting Antalcidas with a sum of money, in hopes that when the Athenians and their allies discovered that the Lacedemonians had the wherewithal to furnish a fleet, they might perhaps be more disposed to desire peace. Further, accepting the statements of the Lacedemonians as true, he took on himself to secure the person of Conon, as guilty of wrongdoing towards the king, and shut him up. That done, he set off up country to the king to recount the proposals of Lacedemon, with his own subsequent capture of Conon as a mischievous man, and to ask for further guidance on all these matters.

QUESTIONS

1. Was the alliance between Persia and Athens a good thing for both? 2. Why should the Lacedemonians wish to make peace with Persia? 3. What do these diplomatic negotiations of the Greek states with Persia prove concerning the political unity of the Greeks? 4. How did the attitude of the Greek states towards Persia at this time differ from their attitude at the time of the Persian wars? 5. To what was the change due? 6. When was Persia more powerful, when she had an army in Attica or when she was ruling Greek affairs with her gold? 7. When was she most dangerous to the Greeks? 8. Why did the Greeks not unite to form one great state like the United States? 9. What did the words "my country" mean to a Greek? 10. What motives influenced the Greeks in their international relations? 11. What could Sparta gain by an alliance with Persia, and what would she lose? 12. How did Persia profit by this state of the world?

d. The Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 96–100

1. B.C. 388–387. — Antalcidas had now returned from the Persian court with Tiribazus. The negotiations had been successful. He had secured the alliance of the Persian king and his military coöperation in case the Athenians and their allies refused to abide by the peace which the king dictated. But learning that his second in command, Nichlochus, was being blockaded with his fleet by Iphicrates and Diotimus in Abydos, he set off at once by land for that city. Being come thither he took the fleet one night and put out to sea, having first spread a story that he had invitations from a party in Calchedon; but as a matter of fact he came to anchorage in Percotè and there kept quiet. Meanwhile the Athenian forces under Demænetus and Dionysius and Leontichus and Phanias had got wind of his movement, and were in hot pursuit towards Proconnesus. As soon as they were well past, the Spartan veered round and returned to Abydos, trusting to information brought him of the approach of Polyxenus with the Syracusan and Italian squadron of twenty ships, which he wished to pick up and incorporate with his own.

A little later the Athenian Thrasybulus (of Collytus) was making his way up with eight ships from Thrace, his object being to effect a junction with the main Athenian squadron. The scouts signalled the approach of eight triremes, whereupon Antalcidas, embarking his marines on board twelve of the fastest sailers of his fleet, ordered them to make up their full complements, where defective, from the remaining vessels; and so lay to, skulking in his lair with all possible secrecy. As soon as the enemy's vessels came sailing past he gave chase; and they catching sight of him took to flight. With his swiftest sailers he speedily overhauled their laggards, and ordering his vanguard to let these alone, he followed hard on those ahead. But when the foremost had fallen into his

clutches, the enemy's hinder vessels, seeing their leaders taken one by one, out of sheer despondency fell an easy prey to the slower sailers of the foe, so that not one of the eight vessels escaped.

Presently the Syracusan squadron of twenty vessels joined him, and again another squadron from Ionia, or rather so much of that district as lay under the control of Tiribazus. The full quota of the contingent was further made up from the territory of Ariobarzanes (with whom Antalcidas kept up a friendship of long standing), in the absence of Pharnabazus, who by this date had already been summoned up country on the occasion of his marriage with the king's daughter. With this fleet, which, from whatever sources derived, amounted to more than eighty sail, Antalcidas ruled the seas, and was in a position not only to cut off the passage of vessels bound to Athens from the Euxine, but to convoy them into the harbors of Sparta's allies.

The Athenians could not but watch with alarm the growth of the enemy's fleet, and began to fear a repetition of their former discomfiture. To be trampled under foot by the hostile power seemed indeed no remote possibility, now that the Lacedemonians had procured an ally in the person of the Persian monarch, and they were in little less than a state of siege themselves, pestered as they were by privateers from Ægina. On all these grounds the Athenians became passionately desirous of peace. The Lacedemonians were equally out of humor with the war for various reasons — what with their garrison duties, one mora at Lechæum, and another at Orchomenus, and the necessity of keeping watch and ward on the states, if loyal not to lose them, if disaffected to prevent their revolt; not to mention that reciprocity of annoyance of which Corinth was the centre. So again the Argives had a strong appetite for peace; they knew that the ban had been called out against them, and, it was plain, that no fictitious alteration of the calendar would any longer stand them in good stead. Hence, when Tiribazus issued a summons calling on all who were willing to

listen to the terms of peace sent down by the king to present themselves, the invitation was promptly accepted. At the opening of the conclave Tiribazus pointed to the king's seal attached to the document, and proceeded to read the contents, which ran as follows: —

"The king, Artaxerxes, deems it just that the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to himself; the rest of the Hellenic cities he thinks it just to leave independent, both small and great, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties concerned not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, will war against him or them with those who share my views. This will I do by land and by sea, with ships and with money."

After listening to the above declaration the ambassadors from the several states proceeded to report the same to their respective governments. One and all of these took the oaths to ratify and confirm the terms unreservedly, with the exception of the Thebans, who claimed to take the oaths in behalf of all Bœotians. This claim Agesilaus repudiated: unless they chose to take the oaths in precise conformity with the words of the king's edict, which insisted on "the future autonomy of each state, small or great," he would not admit them. To this the Theban ambassadors made no other reply, except that the instructions they had received were different. "Pray go, then," Agesilaus retorted, "and ask the question; and you may inform your countrymen that if they will not comply, they will be excluded from the treaty." The Theban ambassadors departed, but Agesilaus, out of hatred to the Thebans, took active measures at once. Having got the consent of the ephors he forthwith offered sacrifice. The offerings for crossing the frontier were propitious, and he pushed on to Tegea. From Tegea he despatched some of the knights right and left to visit the perioeci and hasten their mobilization, and at the same time sent commanders of foreign brigades to the allied cities on a similar errand.

But before he had started from Tegea the answer from Thebes arrived; the point was yielded, they would suffer the states to be independent. Under these circumstances the Lacedemonians returned home, and the Thebans were forced to accept the truce unconditionally, and to recognize the autonomy of the Bœotian cities. But now the Corinthians were by no means disposed to part with the garrison of the Argives. Accordingly Agesilaus had a word of warning for both. To the former he said, "if they did not forthwith dismiss the Argives," and to the latter, "if they did not instantly quit Corinth," he would march an army into their territories. The terror of both was so great that the Argives marched out of Corinth, and Corinth was once again left to herself; whereupon the "butchers" and their accomplices in the deed of blood determined to retire from Corinth, and the rest of the citizens welcomed back their late exiles voluntarily.

Now that the transactions were complete, and the states were bound by their oaths to abide by the peace sent down to them by the king, the immediate result was a general disarmament, military and naval forces being alike disbanded; and so it was that the Lacedemonians and Athenians, with their allies, found themselves in the enjoyment of peace for the first time since the period of hostilities subsequent to the demolition of the walls of Athens. From a condition which, during the war, can only be described as a sort of even balance with their antagonists, the Lacedemonians now emerged; and reached a pinnacle of glory consequent upon the peace of Antalcidas, so called. As guarantors of the peace presented to Hellas by the king, and as administrators personally of the autonomy of the states, they had added Corinth to their alliance; they had obtained the independence of the states of Bœotia at the expense of Thebes, which meant the gratification of an old ambition; and lastly, by calling out the ban in case the Argives refused to evacuate Corinth, they had put a stop to the appropriation of that city by the Argives.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the immediate result of the peace between Sparta and Persia? 2. Who dictated peace to the world? 3. Which state held the balance of power in this world of the Ægean Sea? 4. What other states combined with Sparta against Athens? 5. Why was the loss of the control of the entrance to the Black Sea a serious matter to Athens? 6. Who gained and who lost by the peace of Antalcidas? 7. Compare the position of Sparta after the peace with her position in 395. 8. At which date was she stronger?

C. The Spartans seize the Citadel of Thebes

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 107–110

1. Phœbidas, when the remaining portion of his brother's forces was duly mustered, put himself at their head and commenced his march. On reaching Thebes the troops encamped outside the city, round the gymnasium. Faction was rife within the city. The two polemarchs in office, Ismenias and Leontiades, were diametrically opposed, being the respective heads of antagonistic political clubs. Hence it was that while Ismenias, ever inspired by hatred to the Lacedemonians, would not come anywhere near the Spartan general, Leontiades, on the other hand, was assiduous in courting him; and when a sufficient intimacy was established between them, he made a proposal as follows: "You have it in your power," he said, addressing Phœbidas, "this very day to confer supreme benefit on your country. Follow me with your hoplites and I will introduce you into the citadel. That done, you may rest assured Thebes will be completely under the thumb of Lacedemon and of us, your friends. At present, as you see, there is a proclamation forbidding any Theban to take service with you against Olynthus, but we will change all that. You have only to act with us as we suggest, and we shall at once be able to furnish you with large supplies of infantry and cavalry, so that you will

join your brother with a magnificent reinforcement, and pending his proposed reduction of Olynthus, you will have accomplished the reduction of a far larger state than that — to wit, this city of Thebes."

The imagination of Phœbidas was kindled as he listened to the tempting proposal. To do a brilliant deed was far dearer to him than life; on the other hand, he had no reasoning capacity, and would seem to have been deficient altogether in sound sense. The consent of the Spartan secured, Leontiades bade him set his troops in motion, as if everything were ready for his departure. "And anon, when the hour is come," added the Theban, "I will be with you, and show you the way myself."

The senate was seated in the arcade or stoa in the market-place, since the Cadmeia was in possession of the women who were celebrating the Thesmophoria. It was noon of a hot summer's day; scarcely a soul was stirring in the streets. This was the moment for Leontiades. He mounted on horseback and galloped off to overtake Phœbidas. He turned him back, and led him without further delay into the acropolis. Having posted Phœbidas and his soldiers inside, he handed him the key of the gates, and warning him not to suffer any one to enter into the citadel without a pass from himself, he straightway betook himself to the senate. Arrived there, he delivered himself thus: "Sirs, the Lacedemonians are in possession of the citadel; but that is no cause for despondency, since, as they assure us, they have no hostile intention, except, indeed, towards any one who has an appetite for war. For myself, and acting in obedience to the law, which empowers the polemarch to apprehend all persons suspected of capital crimes, I hereby seize the person of Ismenias as an archfomenter of war. I call upon you, sirs, who are captains of companies, and you who are ranked with them, to do your duty. Arise and secure the prisoner, and lead him away to the place appointed."

Those who were privy to the affair, it will be understood, presented themselves, and the orders were promptly carried out. Of those not in the secret, but opposed to the party of Leontiades, some sought refuge at once outside the city in terror for their lives; whilst the rest, albeit they retired to their houses at first, yet when they found that Ismenias was imprisoned in the Cadmeia, and further delay seemed dangerous, retreated to Athens. These were the men who shared the views of Androcleidas and Ismenias, and they must have numbered about three hundred.

Now that the transactions were concluded, another polemarch was chosen in place of Ismenias, and Leontiades at once set out to Lacedemon. There he found the ephors and the mass of the community highly incensed against Phœbidas, "who had failed to execute the orders assigned him by the state." Against this general indignation, however, Agesilaus protested. If mischief had been wrought to Lacedemon by this deed, it was just that the doer of it should be punished; but, if good, it was a time-honored custom to allow full scope for impromptu acts of this character. "The sole point you have to look to," he urged, "is whether what has been done is good or evil." After this, however, Leontiades presented himself to the assembly and addressed the members as follows: "Sirs, Lacedemonians, the hostile attitude of Thebes towards you, before the occurrence of late events, was a topic constantly on your lips, since time upon time your eyes were called upon to witness her friendly bearing to your foes in contrast with her hatred of your friends. Can it be denied that Thebes refused to take part with you in the campaign against your direst enemy, the democracy in Piræus; and balanced that lukewarmness by an onslaught on the Phocians, whose sole crime was cordiality to yourselves? Nor is that all. In full knowledge that you were likely to be engaged in war with Olynthus, she proceeded at once to make an alliance with that city. So that up to the last moment you were in constant expectation of hearing some day that the

whole of Bœotia was laid at the feet of Thebes. With the late incidents all is changed. You need fear Thebes no longer. One brief despatch in cipher will suffice to procure a dutiful subservience to your every wish in that quarter, provided only you will take as kindly an interest in us as we in you."

This appeal told upon the meeting, and the Lacedemonians resolved formally, now that the citadel had been taken, to keep it, and to put Ismenias on his trial. In consequence of this resolution a body of commissioners was despatched, three Lacedemonians and one for each of the allied states, great and small alike. The court of inquiry thus constituted, the sittings commenced, and an indictment was preferred against Ismenias. He was accused of playing into the hands of the barbarian; of seeking amity with the Persian to the detriment of Hellas; of accepting sums of money as bribes from the king; and, finally, of being, along with Androcleidas, the prime cause of the whole intestine trouble to which Hellas was a prey. Each of these charges was met by the defendant, but to no purpose, since he failed to disabuse the court of their conviction that the grandeur of his designs was only equalled by their wickedness. The verdict was given against him, and he was put to death. The party of Leontiades thus possessed the city; and went beyond the injunctions given them in the eager performance of their services.

QUESTIONS

1. To what was the seizure of the Theban citadel due? 2. How much of Xenophon's account of this event should be received with caution, *i.e.* should we accept as equally reliable his report of the words used by Leontiades and his statement that the Spartans took possession of the citadel? Could he know more about the one than about the other? 3. How was the act of Phœbidas regarded in Sparta? 4. What do you think of the ethics of Agesilaus? 5. What right had Sparta and her allies to try Ismenias? 6. Would England, France, and Russia have

a right to arrest and try a German statesman on the ground that he was favoring Japan against Europe? 7. Was there really a "Hellas," a united Greece, as the charges against Ismenias seemed to intimate, or was the term used in the same sense that "Europe" is used to-day? 8. Were any of the leading Greek states guiltless of the charges brought against Ismenias?

FIG. 17. BEMA

X. THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

A. The Liberation of Thebes

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 119–122

1. Abundant examples might be found, alike in Hellenic and in foreign history, to prove that the divine powers mark what is done amiss, winking neither at impiety nor at the commission of unhallowed acts; but at present I confine myself to the facts before me. The Lacedemonians, who had pledged themselves by oath to leave the states independent, had laid violent hands on the acropolis of Thebes, and were eventually punished by the victims of that iniquity single-handed, — the Lacedemonians, be it noted, who had never before been mastered by living man; and not they alone, but those citizens of Thebes who introduced them into their acropolis, and who wished to enslave their city to Lacedemon, that they might play the tyrant themselves — how fared it with them? A bare score of the fugitives were sufficient to destroy their government. How this happened I will now narrate in detail.

There was a man named Phyllidas — he was secretary to Archias, that is, to the polemarchs. Beyond his official duties he had rendered his chief other services, and all apparently in an exemplary fashion. A visit to Athens in pursuance of some business brought this man into contact with a former acquaintance of his own, Melon, one of the exiles who had fled for safety to Athens. Melon had various questions to ask touching the sort of tyranny practised by Archias in the exercise of the polemarchy, and by Philip. He soon discovered that affairs at home were still more detestable to Phyllidas than to himself. It only remained to ex-

change pledges, and to arrange the details of what was to be done. After a certain interval Melon, accompanied by six of the trustiest comrades he could find among his fellow-exiles, set off for Thebes. They were armed with nothing but daggers, and first of all crept into the neighborhood under cover of night. The whole of the next day they lay concealed in a desert place, and drew near to the city gates in the guise of laborers returning home with the latest comers from the fields. Having got safely within the city, they spent the whole of that night at the house of a man named Charon, and again the next day in the same fashion. Phyllidas meanwhile was busily taken up with the concerns of the polemarchs, who were to celebrate a feast of Aphroditè on going out of office. Amongst other things, the secretary was to take this opportunity of fulfilling an old undertaking, which was the introduction of certain women to the polemarchs. They were to be the most majestic and the most beautiful to be found in Thebes. . . . Supper was over, and, thanks to the zeal with which the master of the ceremonies responded to their mood, they were speedily intoxicated. To their oft-repeated orders to introduce the women, he went out and fetched Melon and the rest, three of them dressed up as ladies and the rest as their attendant maidens. Having brought them into the treasury of the polemarchs' residence, he returned himself and announced to Archias and his friends that the women would not present themselves as long as any of the attendants remained in the room; whereupon they promptly bade all withdraw, and Phyllidas, furnishing the servants with a stoup of wine, sent them off to the house of one of them. And now at last he introduced the women, and led them to their seats beside their respective lords. It was preconcerted that as soon as they were seated they were to throw aside their veils and strike home. That is one version of the death of the polemarchs. According to another, Melon and his friends came in as revellers, and so despatched their victims.

That over, Phyllidas, with three of the band, set off to the house of Leontiades. Arrived there, he knocked at the door, and sent in word that he had a message from the polemarchs. Leontiades, as chance befell, was still reclining in privacy after dinner, and his wife was seated beside him working wools. The fidelity of Phyllidas was well known to him, and he gave orders to admit him at once. They entered, slew Leontiades, and with threats silenced his wife. As they went out they ordered the door to be shut, threatening that if they found it open they would kill every one in the house. And now that this deed was done, Phyllidas, with two of the band, presented himself at the prison, telling the jailer he had brought a man from the polemarchs to be locked up. The jailer opened the door, and was at once despatched, and the prisoners were released. These they speedily supplied with arms taken from the armory in the stoa, and then led them to the ampheion, and bade them take up a position there, after which they at once made a proclamation calling on all Thebans to come out, horse and foot, seeing that the tyrants were dead. The citizens, indeed, as long as it was night, not knowing whom or what to trust, kept quiet, but when day dawned and revealed what had occurred, the summons was responded to with alacrity, heavy infantry and cavalry under arms alike sallying forth. Horsemen were also despatched by the now restored exiles to the two Athenian generals on the frontier; and they, being aware of the object of the message (promptly responded).

On the other hand, the Lacedemonian governor in the citadel, as soon as that night's proclamation reached his ears, was not slow to send to Platæa and Thespiæ for reinforcements. The approach of the Platæans was perceived by the Theban cavalry, who met them and killed a score of them and more, and after that achievement returned to the city, to find the Athenians from the frontier already arrived. Then they assaulted the acropolis. The troops within recognized the paucity of their own numbers,

whilst the zeal of their opponents (one and all advancing to the attack) was plainly visible, and loud were the proclamations, promising rewards to those who should be first to scale the walls. All this so worked upon their fears that they agreed to evacuate the place if the citizens would allow them a safe-conduct to retire with their arms. To this request the others gladly yielded, and they made a truce. Oaths were taken on the terms aforesaid, and the citizens dismissed their adversaries. For all that, as the garrison retired, those of them who were recognized as personal foes were seized and put to death. Some were rescued through the good offices of the Athenian reinforcements from the frontier, who smuggled them across and saved them. The Thebans were not content with putting the men to death; if any of them had children, these also were sacrificed to their vengeance.

QUESTIONS

1. Who benefited by the presence of a Spartan garrison in the citadel of Thebes? 2. Where was the plot formed to recover the citadel? 3. What was the relation of Athens to the conspiracy? 4. Was the sole aim of the conspirators to expel the Spartans? 5. Can we feel sure that the conspirators got possession of Thebes in just the way in which Xenophon describes it? 6. How did he know what took place? 7. Did the deed seem to meet the approval of the Athenian people? 8. Is it probable that the Thebans would have been successful without the aid of the Athenians? 9. Can you think of any reasons why the Athenians should aid them? 10. What acts of the Thebans at this time were barbarous? 11. What is there in the above extract that shows Xenophon's attitude towards religion?

B. The Battle of Leuctra

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 157–163

1. The arguments of the speakers were approved, and the Lacedemonians passed a resolution to accept peace on a threefold

basis: the withdrawal of the governors from the cities, the disbanding of armaments naval and military, and the guarantee of independence to the states. "If any state transgressed these stipulations, it lay at the option of any power whatsoever to aid the states so injured, while, conversely, to bring such aid was not compulsory on any power against its will." On these terms the oaths were administered and accepted by the Lacedemonians on behalf of themselves and their allies, and by the Athenians and their allies separately state by state. The Thebans had entered their individual name among the states which accepted the oaths, but their ambassadors came the next day with instructions to alter the name of the signatories, substituting for Thebans Bœotians. But Agesilaus answered to this demand that he would alter nothing of what they had in the first instance sworn to and subscribed. If they did not wish to be included in the treaty, he was willing to erase their name at their bidding. So it came to pass that the rest of the world made peace, the sole point of dispute being confined to the Thebans; and the Athenians came to the conclusion that there was a fair prospect of the Thebans being now literally decimated. As to the Thebans themselves, they retired from Sparta in utter despondency.

In consequence of the peace, the Athenians proceeded to withdraw their garrisons from the different states, and sent to recall Iphicrates with his fleet; besides which they forced him to restore everything captured subsequently to the late solemn undertaking at Lacedemon. The Lacedemonians acted differently. Although they withdrew their governors and garrisons from the other states, in Phocis they did not do so. Here Cleombrotus was quartered with his army, and sent to ask directions from the home authorities. A speaker, Prothöus, maintained that their business was to disband the army in accordance with their oaths, and then to send round invitations to the states to contribute what each felt individually disposed, and lay such sum in the temple of

Apollo; after which, if any attempt to hinder the independence of the states on any side were manifested, it would be time enough then again to invite all who cared to protect the principle of autonomy to march against its opponents. "In this way," he added, "I think the goodwill of heaven will be secured, and the states will suffer least annoyance." But the assembly, on hearing these views, agreed that this man was talking nonsense. Puppets in the hand of fate! An unseen power, as it would seem, was already driving them onwards; so they sent instructions to Cleombrotus not to disband the army, but to march straight against the Thebans, if they refused to recognize the autonomy of the states. (Cleombrotus, it is understood, had, on hearing the news of the establishment of peace, sent to the ephorate to ask for guidance; and then they sent him the above instructions, bidding him under the circumstances named to march upon Thebes.)

The Spartan king soon perceived that, so far from leaving the Bœotian states their autonomy, the Thebans were not even preparing to disband their army, clearly in view of a general engagement; he therefore felt justified in marching his troops into Bœotia. The point of ingress which he adopted was not that which the Thebans anticipated from Phocis, and where they were keeping guard at a defile; but, marching through Thisbæ by a mountainous and unsuspected route, he arrived before Creusis, taking that fortress and capturing twelve Theban war-vessels besides. After this achievement he advanced from the seaboard and encamped in Leuctra on Thespian territory. The Thebans encamped on a rising ground immediately opposite at no great distance, and were supported by no allies except the Bœotians.

At this juncture the friends of Cleombrotus came to him and urged upon him strong reasons for delivering battle. "If you let the Thebans escape without a battle," they said, "you will run great risks of suffering the extreme penalty at the hands of the state. People will call to mind against you the time when you

reached Cynoscephalæ and did not ravage a square foot of Theban territory; and again, a subsequent expedition when you were driven back foiled in your attempt to make an entry into the enemy's country — while Agesilaus on each occasion found his entry by Mount Cithæron. If then you have any care for yourself, or any attachment to your fatherland, march you must against the enemy." That was what his friends urged. As to his opponents, what they said was, "Now our fine friend will show whether he really is so concerned on behalf of the Thebans as he is said to be."

Cleombrotus, with these words ringing in his ears, felt driven to join battle. On their side the leaders of Thebes calculated that, if they did not fight, their provincial cities would hold aloof from them and Thebes itself would be besieged; while, if the commonalty of Thebes failed to get supplies, there was every prospect that the city itself would turn against them; and, seeing that many of them had already tasted the bitterness of exile, they came to the conclusion that it was better for them to die on the field of battle than to renew that experience. Besides this they were somewhat encouraged by the recital of an oracle which predicted that the Lacedemonians would be defeated on the spot where the monument of the maidens stood, who, as the story goes, being violated by certain Lacedemonians, had slain themselves. This sepulchral monument the Thebans decked with ornaments before the battle. Furthermore, tidings were brought them from the city that all the temples had opened of their own accord; and the priestesses asserted that the gods revealed victory. Again, from the Heracleion men said that the arms had disappeared, as though Heracles himself had sallied forth to battle. It is true that another interpretation of these marvels made them out to be one and all the artifices of the leaders of Thebes. However this may be, everything in the battle turned out adverse to the Lacedemonians; while fortune herself lent aid to the Thebans and crowned their

efforts with success. Cleombrotus held his last council "whether to fight or not," after the morning meal. In the heat of noon a little wine goes a long way; and people said that it took a somewhat provocative effect on their spirits.

Both sides were now arming, and there were the unmistakable signs of approaching battle, when, as the first incident, there issued from the Bœotian lines a long train bent on departure — these were the furnishers of the market, a detachment of baggage bearers, and in general such people as had no inclination to join in the fight. These were met on their retreat and attacked by the mercenary troops under Hiero, who got round them by a circular movement. The mercenaries were supported by the Phocian light infantry and some squadrons of Heracleot and Phliasian cavalry, who fell upon the retiring train and turned them back, pursuing them and driving them into the camp of the Bœotians. The immediate effect was to make the Bœotian portion of the army more numerous and closer packed than before. The next feature of the combat was that in consequence of the flat space of plain between the opposing armies, the Lacedemonians posted their cavalry in front of their squares of infantry, and the Thebans followed suit. Only there was this difference, — the Theban cavalry was in a high state of training and efficiency, owing to their war with the Orchomenians and again their war with Thespiæ, whilst the cavalry of the Lacedemonians was at its worst at this period. The horses were reared and kept by the wealthiest members of the state; but whenever the ban was called out, an appointed trooper appeared who took the horse with any sort of arms which might be presented to him, and set off on the expedition at a moment's notice. Moreover, these troopers were the least able-bodied of the men: raw recruits set simply astride their horses, and devoid of soldierly ambition. Such was the cavalry of either antagonist.

The heavy infantry of the Lacedemonians, it is said, advanced

by sections three files abreast, allowing a total depth to the whole line of not more than twelve. The Thebans were formed in close order of not less than fifty shields deep, calculating that victory gained over the king's division of the army implied the easy conquest of the rest.

Cleombrotus had hardly begun to lead his division against the foe when, before in fact the troops with him were aware of his advance, the cavalry had already come into collision, and that of the Lacedemonians was speedily worsted. In their flight they became involved with their own heavy infantry; and to make matters worse, the Theban regiments were already attacking vigorously. Still strong evidence exists for supposing that Cleombrotus and his division were, in the first instance, victorious in the battle, if we consider the fact that they could never have picked him up and brought him back alive unless his vanguard had been masters of the situation for the moment.

When, however, Deinon the polemarch and Sphodrias, a member of the king's council, with his son Cleonymus, had fallen, then it was that the cavalry and the polemarch's adjutants, as they are called, with the rest, under pressure of the mass against them, began retreating; and the left wing of the Lacedemonians, seeing the right borne down in this way, also swerved. Still, in spite of the numbers slain, and broken as they were, as soon as they had crossed the trench which protected their camp in front, they grounded arms on the spot whence they had rushed to battle. This camp, it must be borne in mind, did not lie at all on the level, but was pitched on a somewhat steep incline. At this juncture there were some of the Lacedemonians who, looking upon such a disaster as intolerable, maintained that they ought to prevent the enemy from erecting a trophy, and try to recover the dead not under a flag of truce, but by another battle. The polemarchs, however, seeing that nearly a thousand men of the total Lacedemonian troops were slain; seeing also that of the seven hundred Spartans

themselves who were on the field something like four hundred lay dead; aware, further, of the despondency which reigned among the allies, and the general disinclination on their part to fight longer (a frame of mind not far removed in some instances from positive satisfaction at what had taken place) — under the circumstances, I say, the polemarchs called a council of the ablest representatives of the shattered army and deliberated as to what should be done. Finally, the unanimous opinion was to pick up the dead under a flag of truce, and they sent a herald to treat for terms. The Thebans after that set up a trophy and gave back the bodies under a truce.

After these events, a messenger was despatched to Lacedemon with news of the calamity. He reached his destination on the last day of the gymnopædiæ, just when the chorus of grown men had entered the theatre. The ephors heard the mournful tidings not without grief and pain, as needs they must, I take it; but for all that they did not dismiss the chorus, but allowed the contest to run out its natural course. What they did was to deliver the names of those who had fallen to their friends and families, with a word of warning to the women not to make any loud lamentation but to bear their sorrow in silence; and the next day it was a striking spectacle to see those who had relations among the slain moving to and fro in public with bright and radiant looks, whilst of those whose friends were reported to be living barely a man was to be seen, and these flitted by with lowered heads and scowling brows, as if in humiliation.

QUESTIONS

1. What led to the invasion of Bœotia by the Lacedemonians? 2. Why did the Thebans finally refuse to sign the peace? 3. Was Sparta consistent in refusing to allow the Thebans to change their signature? 4. Did the Spartans carry out the terms of the treaty? 5. Why did they follow this course? 6. What induced Cleombrotus to offer

battle to the Thebans? 7. What was the composition of his army? 8. What happened to put the Thebans in good spirits? 9. What significant remark does Xenophon make about these things? 10. Besides the omen what other motives influenced the Thebans to give battle? 11. On what kind of ground was the battle fought? 12. Did that give an advantage to either side? 13. To what was the Theban victory due? 14. Had the Spartans never been defeated before? 15. How did the Spartan training show itself in Sparta after the battle?

C. The Thebans invade Laconia

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 177–179

1. After these achievements the Arcadians marched to join the Thebans at Caryæ, and the Thebans, hearing what wonders the Arcadians had performed, commenced their descent with far greater confidence. Their first exploit was to burn and ravage the district of Sellasia, but finding themselves ere long in the flat land within the sacred enclosure of Apollo, they encamped for the night, and the next day continued their march along the Eurotas. When they came to the bridge they made no attempt to cross it to attack the city, for they caught sight of the heavy infantry in the temple of Alea ready to meet them. So, keeping the Eurotas on their right, they tramped along, burning and pillaging homesteads stocked with numerous stores. The feelings of the citizens may well be imagined. The women who had never set eyes upon a foe could scarcely contain themselves as they beheld the cloud of smoke. The Spartan warriors, inhabiting a city without fortifications, posted at intervals, here one and there another, were in truth what they appeared to be — the veriest handful. And these kept watch and ward. The authorities passed a resolution to announce to the helots that whosoever among them chose to take arms and join a regiment should have his freedom guaranteed to him by solemn pledges in return for assistance in the common war. More than six thousand helots, it is said, enrolled

themselves, so that a new terror was excited by the very incorporation of these men, whose numbers seemed to be excessive. But when it was found that the mercenaries from Orchomenus remained faithful, and reinforcements came to Lacedemon from Phlius, Corinth, Epidaurus, and Pellene, and some other states, the dread of these new levies was speedily diminished.

The enemy in his advance came to Amyclæ. Here he crossed the Eurotas. The Thebans wherever they encamped at once formed a stockade of the fruit-trees they had felled, as thickly piled as possible, and so kept ever on their guard. The Arcadians did nothing of the sort. They left their camping-ground and took themselves off to attack the homesteads and loot. On the third or fourth day after their arrival the cavalry advanced, squadron by squadron, as far as the racecourse, within the sacred enclosure of Gaiaochos. These consisted of the entire Theban cavalry and the Eleians, with as many of the Phocian or Thessalian or Locrian cavalry as were present. The cavalry of the Lacedemonians, looking a mere handful, were drawn up to meet them. They had posted an ambuscade chosen from their heavy infantry, the younger men, about three hundred in number, in the house of the Tyndarids; and while the cavalry charged, out rushed the three hundred at the same instant at full pace. The enemy did not wait to receive the double charge, but swerved, and at sight of that many also of the infantry took to headlong flight. But the pursuers presently paused; the Theban army remained motionless; and both parties returned to their camps. And now the hope, the confidence strengthened that an attack upon the city itself would never come; nor did it. The invading army broke up from their ground, and marched off on the road to Helos and Gytheum. The unwalled cities were consigned to the flames, but Gytheum, where the Lacedemonians had their naval arsenal, was subjected to assault for three days. Certain of the provincials also joined in this attack, and shared the campaign with the Thebans and their friends.

QUESTIONS

1. What allies did the Thebans have when they invaded the Peloponnesus? 2. Was Sparta abandoned by her allies? 3. Was an invasion of Sparta a novel thing? 4. What proved the extreme fear of the Spartans? 5. Describe the course of the invasion and the damage done. 6. Why did the Thebans not take the city of Sparta?

D. Epaminondas attacks Sparta — Battle of Mantinea

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, pp. 227–233

1. Epaminondas advanced with rapid strides, but on reaching Nemea he slackened speed, hoping to catch the Athenians as they passed, and reflecting on the magnitude of such an achievement, whether in stimulating the courage of his own allies, or in plunging his foes into despondency; since, to state the matter concisely, any blow to Athens would be a gain to Thebes. But during his pause at Nemea those who shared the opposite policy had time to converge on Mantinea. Presently the news reached Epaminondas that the Athenians had abandoned the idea of marching by land, and were preparing to bring their supports to Arcadia by sea through Lacedemon. This being so, he abandoned his base of Nemea and pushed on to Tegea.

That the strategy of the Theban general was fortunate I will not pretend to assert, but in the particular combination of prudence and daring which stamps these exploits, I look upon him as consummate. In the first place, I cannot but admire the sagacity which led him to form his camp within the walls of Tegea, where he was in greater security than he would have been if intrenched outside, and where his future movements were more completely concealed from the enemy. Again, the means to collect material and furnish himself with other necessaries were readier to his hand inside the city; while, thirdly, he was able to keep an eye on the movements of his opponents marching outside, and to watch their

successful dispositions as well as their mistakes. More than this: in spite of his sense of superiority to his antagonists, over and over again, when he saw them gaining some advantage in position, he refused to be drawn out to attack them. It was only when he saw plainly that no city was going to give him its adhesion, and that time was slipping by, that he made up his mind that a blow must be struck, failing which, he had nothing to expect save a vast ingloriousness, in place of his former fame. He had ascertained that his antagonists held a strong position round Mantinea, and that they had sent to fetch Agesilaus and the whole Lacedemonian army. He was further aware that Agesilaus had commenced his advance and was already at Pellene. Accordingly he passed the word of command to his troops to take their evening meal, put himself at their head, and advanced straight upon Sparta. Had it not been for the arrival (by some providential chance) of a Cretan, who brought the news to Agesilaus of the enemy's advance, he would have captured the city of Sparta like a nest of young birds absolutely bereft of its natural defenders. As it was, Agesilaus, being forewarned, had time to return to the city before the Thebans came, and here the Spartans made distribution of their scanty force and maintained watch and ward, albeit few enough in numbers, since the whole of their cavalry were away in Arcadia, and so was their foreign brigade, and so were three out of their twelve regiments.

Arrived within the city of Sparta, Epaminondas abstained from gaining an entry at a point where his troops would have to fight on level ground and under attack from the houses above; where also their large numbers would give them no superiority over the small numbers of the foemen. But, singling out a position which he conceived would give him the advantage, he occupied it and began his advance against the city upon a downward instead of an upward incline.

With regard to what subsequently took place, two possible

explanations suggest themselves: either it was miraculous, or it may be maintained that there is no resisting the fury of desperation. Archidamus, advancing at the head of but a hundred men, and crossing the one thing which might have been expected to form an obstacle to the enemy, began marching uphill against his antagonists. At this crisis these fire-breathing warriors, these victorious heroes of Leuctra, with their superiority at every point, aided, moreover, by the advantage of their position, did not withstand the attack of Archidamus and those with him, but swerved in flight.

The vanguard of Epaminondas' troops was cut down; when, however, flushed with the glory of their victory, the citizens followed up their pursuit beyond the right point, they in turn were cut down, — so plainly was the demarking line of victory drawn by the finger of God. So then Archidamus set up a trophy to note the limit of his success, and gave back those who had there fallen of the enemy under a truce. Epaminondas, on his side, reflecting that the Arcadians must already be hastening to the relief of Lacedemon, and being unwilling to engage them in conjunction with the whole of the Lacedemonian force, especially now that the star of Sparta's fortune shone, whilst theirs had suffered some eclipse, turned and marched back the way he came with all speed possible into Tegea. There he gave his heavy infantry pause and refreshment, but his cavalry he sent on to Mantinea; he begged them to "have courage and hold on," instructing them that in all likelihood they would find the flocks and herds of the Mantineans and the entire population itself outside their walls, especially as it was the moment for carrying the corn. So they set off.

The Athenian cavalry, starting from Eleusis, had made their evening meal at the Isthmus, and passing through Cleonæ, as chance befell, had arrived at Mantinea and had encamped within the walls in the houses. As soon as the enemy were seen galloping on with evidently hostile intent, the Mantineans fell to praying the

FIG. 18. POSIDIPPUS

Athenian knights to lend them all the succor they could, and they showed them all their cattle outside, and all their laborers, and among them were many children and graybeards who were free-born citizens. The Athenians were touched by this appeal, and, though they had not yet broken fast, neither the men themselves nor their horses went out eagerly to the rescue. And here we must needs pause to admire the valor of these men also. The enemy whom they had to cope with far outnumbered them, as was plain to see, and the former misadventure of the cavalry in Corinth was not forgotten. But none of these things entered into their calculations now — nor yet the fact that they were on the point of engaging Thebans and Thessalians, the finest cavalry in the world by all repute. The only thing they thought of was the shame and the dishonor, if, being there, they did not lend a helping hand to their allies. In this mood, so soon as they caught sight of the enemy, they fell with a crash upon him in passionate longing to recover the old ancestral glory. Nor did they fight in vain — the blows they struck enabled the Mantineans to recover all their property outside, but among those who dealt them died some brave heroes; some brave heroes also, it is evident, were those whom they slew, since on either side the weapons wielded were not so short but that they could lunge at one another with effect. The dead bodies of their own men they refused to abandon; and there were some of the enemy's slain whom they restored to him under a flag of truce.

The thoughts now working in the mind of Epaminondas were such as these: that within a few days he would be forced to retire, as the period of the campaign was drawing to a close; if it ended in his leaving in the lurch those allies whom he came out to assist, they would be besieged by their antagonists. What a blow would that be to his own fair fame, already somewhat tarnished! Had he not been defeated in Lacedemon, with a large body of heavy infantry, by a handful of men? defeated again at Mantinea, in the

cavalry engagement, and himself the main cause finally of a coalition between five great powers — that is to say, the Lacedemonians, the Arcadians, the Achæans, the Eleians, and the Athenians? On all grounds it seemed to him impossible to steal past without a battle. And the more so as he computed the alternatives of victory or death. If the former were his fortune, it would resolve all his perplexities; if death, his end would be noble. How glorious a thing to die in the endeavor to leave behind him, as his last legacy to his fatherland, the empire of Peloponnesus! That such thoughts should pass through his brain strikes me as by no means wonderful, since these are thoughts distinctive of all men of high ambition. Far more wonderful to my mind was the pitch of perfection to which he had brought his army. There was no labor which his troops would shrink from, either by night or by day; there was no danger they would flinch from; and, with the scantiest provisions, their discipline never failed them.

And so, when he gave his last orders to them to prepare for impending battle, they obeyed with alacrity. He gave the word; the cavalry fell to whitening their helmets, the heavy infantry of the Arcadians began inscribing clubs as the crest on their shields, as though they were Thebans, and all were engaged in sharpening their lances and swords and polishing their heavy shields. When the preparations were complete and he had led them out, his next movement is worthy of attention. First, as was natural, he paid heed to their formation, and in so doing seemed to give clear evidence that he intended battle; but no sooner was the army drawn up in the formation which he preferred, than he advanced, not by the shortest route to meet the enemy, but towards the westward-lying mountains which face Tegea, and by this movement created in the enemy an expectation that he would not do battle on that day. In keeping with this expectation, as soon as he arrived at the mountain-region, he extended his phalanx in long line and piled arms under the high cliffs; and to all appear-

ance he was there encamping. The effect of this manœuvre on the enemy in general was to relax the prepared bent of their souls for battle, and to weaken their tactical arrangements. Presently, however, wheeling his regiments (which were marching in column) to the front, with the effect of strengthening the beak-like attack which he proposed to lead himself, at the same instant he gave the order, "Shoulder arms, forward," and led the way, the troops following.

When the enemy saw them so unexpectedly approaching, not one of them was able to maintain tranquillity; some began running to their divisions, some fell into line, some might be seen bitting and bridling their horses, some donning their cuirasses, and one and all were like men about to receive rather than to inflict a blow. He, the while, with steady impetus pushed forward his armament, like a ship-of-war prow forward. Wherever he brought his solid wedge to bear, he meant to cleave through the opposing mass, and crumble his adversary's host to pieces. With this design, he prepared to throw the brunt of the fighting on the strongest half of his army, while he kept the weaker portion of it in the background, knowing certainly that if worsted it would only cause discouragement to his own division and add force to the foe. The cavalry on the side of his opponents were disposed like an ordinary phalanx of heavy infantry, regular in depth and unsupported by foot-soldiers interspersed among the horses. Epaminondas again differed in strengthening the attacking point of his cavalry, besides which he interspersed footmen between their lines in the belief that, when he had once cut through the cavalry, he would have wrested victory from the antagonist along his whole line; so hard is it to find troops who will care to keep their ground when once they see any of their own side flying. Lastly, to prevent any attempt on the part of the Athenians, who were on the enemy's left wing, to bring up their reliefs in support of the portion next them, he posted bodies of cavalry and heavy infantry

on certain hillocks in front of them, intending to create in their minds an apprehension that, in case they offered such assistance, they would be attacked on their own rear by these detachments. Such was the plan of encounter which he formed and executed; nor was he cheated in his hopes. He had so much the mastery at his point of attack that he caused the whole of the enemy's troops to take to flight.

But after he himself had fallen, the rest of the Thebans were not able any longer to turn their victory rightly to account. Though the main battle line of their opponents had given way, not a single man afterwards did the victorious hoplites slay, not an inch forward did they advance from the ground on which the collision took place. Though the cavalry had fled before them, there was no pursuit; not a man, horseman, or hoplite did the conquering cavalry cut down; but, like men who have suffered a defeat, as if panic-stricken they slipped back through the ranks of the fleeing foemen. Only the footmen fighting amongst the cavalry and the light infantry, who had together shared in the victory of the cavalry, found their way round to the left wing as masters of the field, but it cost them dear; here they encountered the Athenians and most of them were cut down.

The effective result of these achievements was the very opposite of that which the world at large anticipated. Here, where well-nigh the whole of Hellas was met together in one field, and the combatants stood rank against rank confronted, there was no one who doubted that, in the event of battle, the conquerors would this day rule; and that those who lost would be their subjects. But God so ordered it that both belligerents alike set up trophies as claiming victory and neither interfered with the other in the act. Both parties alike gave back their enemy's dead under a truce, and in right of victory; both alike, in symbol of defeat, under a truce took back their dead. And though both claimed to have won the day, neither could show that he had thereby gained any accession

of territory, or state, or empire, or was better situated than before the battle. Uncertainty and confusion, indeed, had gained ground, being tenfold greater throughout the length and breadth of Hellas after the battle than before.

QUESTIONS

1. What had made Athens an enemy of Thebes? 2. What marks of good generalship did Epaminondas show at Tegea and Sparta? 3. What was the outcome of the attack on Sparta? 4. To what was this result due? 5. What led to the cavalry battle between the Thebans and Athenians at Mantinea? 6. How did the Athenians conduct themselves? 7. What portions of the Greek world were pitted against one another at Mantinea? 8. How had the position of Thebes changed since the battle of Leuctra? 9. Did the Theban army really deserve the reputation it had won? 10. Describe the tactics of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea. 11. How does this battle compare with the battles described in the *Iliad*? 12. What was the result of the battle? 13. What effect did the death of Epaminondas have upon the outcome? 14. Why should it have been so great?

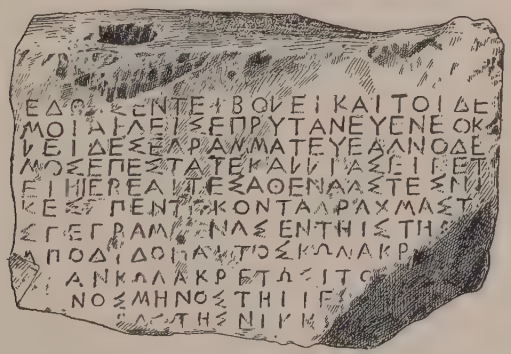

FIG. 19. A DECREE OF THE COUNCIL

XI. MACEDONIA CONQUERS THE GREEK STATES

Demosthenes, *Third Olynthiac*, 57–59

1. I have not spoken for the idle purpose of giving offence: I am not so foolish or perverse as to provoke your displeasure without intending your good: but I think an upright citizen should prefer the advancement of the commonweal to the gratification of his audience. And I hear, as perhaps you do, that the speakers in our ancestors' time, whom all that address praise, but not exactly imitate, were politicians after this form and fashion; Aristides, Nicias, my namesake, Pericles. But since these orators have appeared, who ask, "What is your pleasure? what shall I move? how can I oblige you?" the public welfare is complimented away for a moment's popularity, and these are the results: the orators thrive, you are disgraced. Mark, O Athenians, what a summary contrast may be drawn between the doings in our olden time and in yours. It is a tale brief and familiar to all; for the examples by which you may still be happy are found not abroad, men of Athens, but at home. Our forefathers, whom the speakers humored not nor caressed, as these men caress you, for five-and-forty years took the leadership of the Greeks by general consent, and brought above ten thousand talents into the citadel; and the king of this country was submissive to them, as a barbarian should be to Greeks; and many glorious trophies they erected for victories won by their own fighting on land and sea, and they are the sole people in the world who have bequeathed a renown superior to envy. Such were their merits in the affairs of Greece: see what they were at home, both as citizens and as men. Their public works are edifices and ornaments of such beauty and grandeur in temples

and consecrated furniture, that posterity have no power to surpass them. In private they were so modest and attached to the principle of our constitution, that whoever knows the style of house which Aristides had, or Miltiades, and the illustrious of that day, perceives it to be no grander than those of the neighbors. Their politics were not for money-making; each felt it his duty to exalt the commonwealth. By a conduct honorable toward the Greeks, pious to the gods, brotherlike among themselves, they justly attained a high prosperity.

So fared matters with them under the statesmen I have mentioned. How fare they with you under the worthies of our time? Is there any likeness or resemblance? I pass over other topics, on which I could expatiate; but observe: in this utter absence of competitors (Lacedemonians depressed, Thebans employed, none of the rest capable of disputing the supremacy with us) when we might hold our own securely and arbitrate the claims of others, we have been deprived of our rightful territory, and spent above fifteen hundred talents to no purpose; the allies, whom we gained in war, these persons have lost in peace, and we have trained up against ourselves an enemy thus formidable. Or let any one come forward and tell me, by whose contrivance but ours Philip has grown strong. "Well, sir, this looks bad, but things at home are better." What proof can be adduced? The parapets that are whitewashed? The roads that are repaired? fountains, and fooleries? Look at the men of whose statesmanship these are the fruits. They have risen from beggary to opulence, or from obscurity to honor; some have made their private houses more splendid than the public buildings; and in proportion as the state has declined, their fortunes have been exalted.

What has produced these results? How is it that all went prosperously then, and now goes wrong? Because anciently the people, having the courage to be soldiers, controlled the statesmen, and disposed of all emoluments; any of the rest was happy to receive

from the people his share of honor, office, or advantage. Now, contrariwise, the statesmen dispose of emoluments; through them everything is done; you the people, enervated, stripped of treasure and allies, are become as underlings and hangers-on, happy if these persons dole you out show-money or send you paltry beeves; and, the unmanliest part of all, you are grateful for receiving your own. They, cooping you in the city, lead you to your pleasures and make you tame and submissive to their hands. It is impossible I say, to have a high and noble spirit, while you are engaged in petty and mean employments: whatever be the pursuits of men, their characters must be similar. By Ceres, I should not wonder, if I, for mentioning these things, suffered more from your resentment than the men who have brought them to pass. For even liberty of speech you allow not on all subjects; I marvel indeed you have allowed it here.

Demosthenes, *Second Philippic*, 81–88

2. In all the speeches, men of Athens, about Philip's measures and infringements of the peace, I observe that statements made on our behalf are thought just and generous, and all who accuse Philip are heard with approbation; yet nothing (I may say) that is proper, or for the sake of which the speeches are worth hearing, is done. To this point are the affairs of Athens brought, that the more fully and clearly one convicts Philip of violating the peace with you and plotting against the whole of Greece, the more difficult it becomes to advise you how to act. The cause lies in all of us, Athenians, that, when we ought to oppose an ambitious power by deeds and actions, not by words, we men of the hustings shrink from our duty of moving and advising, for fear of your displeasure, and only declaim on the heinousness and atrocity of Philip's conduct; you of the assembly, though better instructed than Philip to argue justly, or comprehend the argument of another, to check him in the execution of his designs are totally unprepared. The result is

inevitable, I imagine, and perhaps just. You each succeed better in what you are busy and earnest about; Philip in actions, you in words. If you are still satisfied with using the better arguments, it is an easy matter, and there is no trouble: but if we are to take measures for the correction of these evils, to prevent their insensible progress and the rising up of a mighty power, against which we could have no defence, then our course of deliberation is not the same as formerly; the orators, and you that hear them, must prefer good and salutary counsels to those which are easy and agreeable.

First, men of Athens, if any one regards without uneasiness the might and dominion of Philip and imagines that it threatens no danger to the state, or that all his preparations are not against you, I marvel, and would entreat you every one to hear briefly from me the reasons why I am led to form a contrary expectation and wherefore I deem Philip an enemy; that, if I appear to have the clearer foresight, you may hearken to me; if they, who have such confidence and trust in Philip, you may give your adherence to them.

Thus then I reason, Athenians. What did Philip first make himself master of after the peace? Thermopylæ and the Phocian state. Well, and how used he his power? He chose to act for the benefit of Thebes, not of Athens. Why so? Because, I conceive, measuring his calculations by ambition, by his desire of universal empire, without regard to peace, quiet, or justice, he saw plainly, that to a people of our character and principles nothing could he offer or give, that would induce you for self-interest to sacrifice any of the Greeks to him. He sees that you, having respect for justice, dreading the infamy of the thing, and exercising proper forethought, would oppose him in any such attempt as much as if you were at war: but the Thebans he expected (and events prove him right) would, in return for the services done them, allow him in everything else to have his way and, so far from thwarting or impeding him, would fight on his side if he required it. From the same persuasion he befriended lately the Messenians and Argives,

which is the highest panegyric upon you Athenians; for you are adjudged by these proceedings to be the only people incapable of betraying for lucre the national rights of Greece, or bartering your attachment to her for any obligation or benefit. And this opinion of you, that (so different) of the Argives and Thebans, he has naturally formed, not only from a view of present times, but by reflection on the past. For assuredly he finds and hears that your ancestors, who might have governed the rest of Greece on terms of submitting to Persia, not only spurned the proposal, when Alexander, this man's ancestor, came as herald to negotiate, but preferred to abandon their country and endure any suffering, and thereafter achieved such exploits as all the world loves to mention, though none could ever speak them worthily, and therefore I must be silent; for their deeds are too mighty to be uttered in words. But the forefathers of the Argives and Thebans, they either joined the barbarian's army, or did not oppose it; and therefore he knows that both will selfishly embrace their advantage, without considering the common interest of the Greeks. He thought, then, if he chose your friendship, it must be on just principles; if he attached himself to them, he should find auxiliaries of his ambition. This is the reason of his preferring them to you both then and now. For certainly he does not see them with a larger navy than you, nor has he acquired an inland empire and renounced that of the sea and the ports, nor does he forget the professions and promises on which he obtained the peace.

Well it may be said, he knew all this, yet he so acted, not from ambition or the motives which I charge, but because the demands of the Thebans were more equitable than yours. Of all pleas, this now is the least open to him. He that bids the Lacedemonians resign Messene, how can he pretend, when he delivered Orchomenos and Coronea to the Thebans, to have acted on a conviction of justice?

But, forsooth, he was compelled, — this plea remains, — he

made concessions against his will, being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry. Excellent! So of his intentions they talk; he will mistrust the Thebans; and some carry news about, that he will fortify Elatea. All this he intends and will intend, I daresay; but to attack the Lacedemonians on behalf of Messene and Argos he does not intend; he actually sends mercenaries and money into the country, and is expected himself with a great force. The Lacedemonians, who are enemies of Thebes, he overthrows; the Phocians, whom he himself before destroyed, will he now preserve?

And who can believe this? I cannot think that Philip, either if he was forced into his former measures, or if he were now giving up the Thebans, would pertinaciously oppose their enemies; his present conduct rather shows that he adopted those measures by choice. All things prove to a correct observer, that his whole plan of action is against our state. And this has now become to him a sort of necessity. Consider. He desires empire: he conceives you to be his only opponents. He has been for some time wronging you, as his own conscience best informs him, since, by retaining what belongs to you, he secures the rest of his dominion: had he given up Amphipolis and Potidæa, he deemed himself unsafe at home. He knows, therefore, both that he is plotting against you, and that you are aware of it; and, supposing you to have intelligence, he thinks you must hate him; he is alarmed, expecting some disaster, if you get the chance, unless he hastes to prevent you. Therefore he is awake, and on the watch against us; he courts certain people, Thebans, and people in Peloponnesus of the like views, who from cupidity, he thinks, will be satisfied with the present, and from dulness of understanding will foresee none of the consequences. And yet men of even moderate sense might notice striking facts, which I had occasion to quote to the Messenians and Argives, and perhaps it is better they should be repeated to you.

Ye men of Messene, said I, how do ye think the Olynthians would have brooked to hear anything against Philip at those times, when he surrendered to them Anthemus, which all former kings of Macedonia claimed, when he cast out the Athenian colonists and gave them Potidæa, taking on himself your enmity, and giving them the land to enjoy? Think ye they expected such treatment as they got, or would have believed it if they had been told? Nevertheless, said I, they, after enjoying for a short time the land of others, are for a long time deprived by him of their own, shamefully expelled, not only vanquished, but betrayed by one another and sold. In truth, these too close connections with despots are not safe for republics. The Thessalians, again, think ye, said I, when he ejected their tyrants, and gave back Nicæa and Magnesia, they expected to have the decemvirate which is now established? or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues? Surely not. And yet these things have occurred, as all mankind may know. You behold Philip, I said, a dispenser of gifts and promises: pray, if you are wise, that you may never know him for a cheat and a deceiver. By Jupiter, I said, there are manifold contrivances for the guarding and defending of cities, as ramparts, walls, trenches, and the like: these are all made with hands, and require expense; but there is one common safeguard in the nature of prudent men, which is a good security for all, but especially for democracies against despots. What do I mean? Mistrust. Keep this, hold to this; preserve this only, and you can never be injured. What do ye desire? Freedom. Then see ye not that Philip's very titles are at variance therewith? Every king and despot is a foe to freedom, an antagonist to laws. Will ye not beware, I said, lest, seeking deliverance from war, you find a master?

They heard me with a tumult of approbation; and many other speeches they heard from the ambassadors, both in my presence and afterwards; yet none the more, as it appears, will they keep

aloof from Philip's friendship and promises. And no wonder, that Messenians and certain Peloponnesians should act contrary to what their reason approves; but you, who understand yourselves, and by us orators are told, how you are plotted against, how you are enclosed! You, I fear, to escape present exertion, will come to ruin ere you are aware. So doth the moment's ease and indulgence prevail over distant advantage.

As to your measures, you will in prudence, I presume, consult hereafter by yourselves. I will furnish you with such an answer as it becomes the assembly to decide upon.

(*Here the proposed answer was read.*)

It were just, men of Athens, to call the persons who brought those promises, on the faith whereof you concluded peace. For I should never have submitted to go as ambassador, and you would certainly not have discontinued the war, had you supposed that Philip, on obtaining peace, would act thus; but the statements then made were very different. Ay, and others you should call. Whom? The men who declared — after the peace, when I had returned from my second mission, that for the oaths, when, perceiving your delusion, I gave warning, and protested, and opposed the abandonment of Thermopylæ and the Phocians — that I, being a water-drinker was naturally a churlish and morose fellow, that Philip, if he passed the straits, would do just as you desired, fortify Thespiæ and Platæa, humble the Thebans, cut through the Chersonese at his own expense, and give you Oropus and Eubœa in exchange for Amphipolis. All these declarations on the hustings I am sure you remember, though you are not famous for remembering injuries. And the most disgraceful thing of all, you voted in your confidence, that this same peace should descend to your posterity; so completely were you misled. Why do I mention this now, and desire these men to be called? By the gods, I will tell you the truth frankly and without reserve. Not that I

may fall a-wrangling, to provoke recrimination before you, and afford my old adversaries a fresh pretext for getting more from Philip, nor for the purpose of idle garrulity. But I imagine that what Philip is doing will grieve you hereafter more than it does now. I see the thing progressing, and would that my surmises were false; but I doubt it is too near already. So when you are able no longer to disregard events, when, instead of hearing from me or others that these measures are against Athens, you all see it yourselves, and know it for certain, I expect you will be wrathful and exasperated. I fear then as your ambassadors have concealed the purpose for which they know they were corrupted, those who endeavor to repair what the others have lost may chance to encounter your resentment; for I see it is a practice with many to vent their anger, not upon the guilty, but on persons most in their power. While, therefore, the mischief is only coming and preparing, while we hear one another speak, I wish every man, though he knows it well, to be reminded, who it was persuaded you to abandon Phocis and Thermopylæ, by the command of which Philip commands the road to Attica and Peloponnesus, and has brought it to this, that your deliberation must be, not about claims and interests abroad, but concerning the defence of your home and a war in Attica, which will grieve every citizen when it comes, and indeed it has commenced from that day. Had you not been then deceived, there would be nothing to distress the state. Philip would certainly never have prevailed at sea and come to Attica with a fleet, nor would he have marched with a land force by Phocis and Thermopylæ; he must either have acted honorably, observing the peace and keeping quiet, or been immediately in a war similar to that which made him desire the peace. Enough has been said to awaken recollection. Grant, O ye gods, it be not all fully confirmed! I would have no man punished, though death he may deserve, to the damage and danger of the country.

QUESTIONS

1. In what ways did Demosthenes declare the Athenians of his day inferior to their ancestors of the time of the Persian wars? 2. Should we accept these statements of Demosthenes as true without further proof? 3. What was the attitude of Demosthenes towards his audience? 4. Did all Athenians take the same view as Demosthenes of the condition of Athens? 5. How does Demosthenes treat their replies to him? 6. What criticism on Athenian democracy do you find in the *Second Philippic?* 7. To what was the success of Philip, in his struggles with the Greeks, clearly due? 8. What methods did he use in dealing with the Greeks? 9. What did Demosthenes believe Philip was aiming at? 10. Why did not all the Greek states unite against Philip? 11. What was the difference between the position of Demosthenes in Athens and of Philip in Macedonia? 12. What is the chief value, historically, of these speeches of Demosthenes? 13. Are we sure that we have the exact language that Demosthenes used? 14. In this last respect, would there be any difference between the *Second Philippic* and the *Funeral Oration of Pericles?* Read these speeches aloud.

FIG. 20. A MUSICAL CONTEST

XII. THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER

A. The Sources of Arrian's *Anabasis*

Arrian, *Anabasis*, Preface

1. I have admitted into my narrative as strictly authentic all the statements relating to Alexander and Philip which Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, son of Aristobulus, agree in making; and from those statements which differ I have selected that which appears to me the more credible and at the same time the more deserving of record. Different authors have given different accounts of Alexander's actions; and there is no one about whom more have written, or more at variance with each other. But in my opinion, the narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus are more worthy of credit than are the rest; Aristobulus, because he served under King Alexander in his expedition, and Ptolemy, not only because he accompanied Alexander in his expedition, but also because, being a king himself, the falsification of facts would have been more disgraceful to him than to any other man. Moreover, they are both more worthy of credit, because they compiled their histories after Alexander's death, when neither compulsion was used, nor reward offered them to write anything different from what really occurred. Some statements also made by other writers I have incorporated in my narrative, because they seem to me worthy of mention and not altogether improbable; but I have given them merely as reports of Alexander's proceedings.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the chief sources of information employed by Arrian? 2. Why do we speak of the work of Arrian as a source? 3. Is it a source in the same sense as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the poems of Tyrtæus and

Solon, the account of the plague at Athens by Thucydides, and the speeches of Demosthenes? 4. What proof of critical judgment, such as a trained modern historian would display, do you find in Arrian's account of his methods of work? 5. Is it always safe to accept as true facts upon which two witnesses agree? 6. When his witnesses disagreed, was Arrian's method of deciding what the truth was a sound one? 7. Do things that appear credible to one person ever appear incredible to another? 8. Would all persons agree as to the things that are "the more deserving of record"? 9. Because a thing *appears* "credible" or "deserving of record," does it follow that it is a historical fact? (Story of William Tell both credible and worthy of mention, but not true.) 10. What do you think of Arrian's reasons for considering the accounts by Ptolemy and Aristobulus "more worthy of credit than the rest"?

B. Evolutions of the Phalanx

Arrian, *Anabasis*, I, 6

1. Then Alexander drew up his army in such a way that the depth of the phalanx was 120 men; and stationing 200 cavalry on each wing, he ordered them to preserve silence, receiving the word of command quickly. Accordingly he gave the signal to the heavy-armed infantry in the first place to hold their spears erect, and then to couch them at the concerted signal; at one time to incline their spears to the right closely locked together, and at another time towards the left. He then set the phalanx itself into quick motion forward, and marched it towards the wings, now to the right and then to the left. After thus arranging and rearranging his lines many times very rapidly, he at last formed his phalanx into a sort of wedge, and led it towards the left against the enemy, who had long been in a state of amazement at seeing both the order and rapidity of his evolutions. Consequently, they did not sustain Alexander's attack, but quitted the first ridges of the mountain. Upon this, Alexander ordered the Macedonians to raise the battle cry and make clatter with their spears upon their shields,

and the Taulantians, being still more alarmed at the noise, led their army back to the city with all speed.

QUESTIONS

1. To what was the effectiveness of the Macedonian phalanx due? 2. On what kind of ground could such a body manœuvre to best advantage? 3. How many men were there in the front rank of the phalanx? 4. What was the arrangement of the cavalry and why? 5. Does the modern army have any movements similar to those described in this passage? 6. Is the lance used to-day? 7. How do the tactics of the phalanx compare in difficulty with those of the Spartan and Theban forces?

C. Battle of Issus

Arrian, *Anabasis*, II, 10, 11

1. Having thus marshalled his men, he (Alexander) caused them to rest for some time, and then led them forward, as he had resolved that their advance should be very slow. For Darius was no longer leading the foreigners against him as he had arranged them at first, but he remained in his position upon the bank of the river, which was in many parts steep and precipitous; and in certain places where it seemed more easy to ascend, he extended a stockade along it. By this it was at once evident to Alexander's men that Darius had become cowed in spirit. But when the armies were at length close to each other, Alexander rode about in every direction to exhort his troops to show their valor, mentioning with befitting epithets the names, not only of the generals, but also those of the captains of cavalry and infantry and of the Grecian mercenaries as many as were distinguished either by reputation or any deed of valor. From all sides arose a shout not to delay, but to attack the enemy. At first he still led them on in close array with measured step, although he had the forces of Darius already in distant view, lest by a too hasty march any part of the phalanx should

fluctuate from the lines and get separated from the rest. But when they came within range of darts, Alexander himself and those around him, being posted on the right wing, dashed first into the river with a run, in order to alarm the Persians by the rapidity of their onset, and by coming sooner to close conflict to avoid being much injured by the archers. And it turned out just as Alexander had conjectured; for as soon as the battle became a hand-to-hand one, the part of the Persian army stationed on the left wing were put to route; and here Alexander and his men won a brilliant victory. But the Grecian mercenaries serving under Darius attacked the Macedonians at the point where they saw their phalanx especially disordered. For the Macedonian phalanx had been broken and had disjoined towards the right wing; because Alexander had dashed into the river with eagerness, and engaging in a hand-to-hand conflict, was already driving back the Persians posted there; but the Macedonians in the centre had not prosecuted their task with equal eagerness, and finding many parts of the bank steep and precipitous, they were unable to preserve the front of the phalanx in the same line. Here, then, the struggle was desperate; the Grecian mercenaries of Darius fighting in order to push the Macedonians back into the river, and regain the victory for their allies who were already flying; the Macedonians struggling in order not to fall short of Alexander's success, which was already manifest, and not to tarnish the glory of the phalanx, which up to that time had been commonally proclaimed invincible. Moreover, the feeling of rivalry which existed between the Grecian and Macedonian races inspired each side in the conflict. Here fell Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, after proving himself a valiant man, besides about one hundred and twenty Macedonians of no mean repute.

Hereupon the regiments on the right wing, perceiving that the Persians opposed to them had already been put to route, wheeled around toward the Grecian mercenaries of Darius and their own

hard-pressed detachment. Having driven the Greeks away from the river, they extended their phalanx beyond the Persian army on the side which had been broken; and attacking the Greeks on the flank were already beginning to cut them up. However, the Persian cavalry, which had been posted opposite the Thessalians, did not remain on the other side of the river during the struggle, but came through the water and made a vigorous attack upon the Thessalian squadrons. In this place a fierce cavalry battle ensued; for the Persians did not give way until they perceived that Darius had fled and the Grecian mercenaries had been cut up by the phalanx and severed from them. Then, at last, there ensued a decided flight and on all sides.

QUESTIONS

1. Did Darius show good judgment in selecting a position for his army at the battle of Issus? 2. What defects in the phalanx appear in the description of the battle? 3. Would that be true of the Spartan formation? 4. Did the Persians fight well at Issus? 5. To what was the loss of the battle evidently due? 6. Were all the Greeks on one side in this battle? 7. How do you explain this? 8. Was the victory an easy one for the Macedonians? 9. Would a modern general be justified in acting as Alexander did?

D. Siege of Tyre

Arrian, *Anabasis*, II, 20–24

1. About this time Gerostratus, King of Aradus, and Enylus, King of Byblus, ascertaining that their cities were in the possession of Alexander, deserted Autophradates and the fleet under his command, and came to Alexander with their naval force, accompanied by the Sidonian triremes; so that about eighty Phœnician ships joined him. About the same time triremes also came to him from Rhodes, both the one called *Peripolus*, and nine others with it. From Soli and Mallus also came three, and from Lycia ten; from

Macedonia also a ship with fifty oars, in which sailed Proteas, son of Andronicus. Not long after, too, the kings of Cyprus put into Sidon with about one hundred and twenty ships, since they had heard of the defeat of Darius at Issus, and were terrified, because the whole of Phœnicia was already in the possession of Alexander. To all these Alexander granted indemnity for their previous conduct, because they seemed to have joined the Persian fleet rather by necessity than by their own choice. While the engines of war were being constructed for him, and the ships were being fitted up for a naval attack on the city and for the trial of a sea battle, he took some squadrons of cavalry, the Agrianians and archers, and made an expedition towards Arabia into the range of mountains called Anti-Libanus. Having subdued some of the mountaineers by force, and drawn others over to him by terms of capitulation, he returned to Sidon in ten days. Here he found Cleander, son of Polemocrates, just arrived from Peloponnesus, having four thousand Grecian mercenaries with him.

When his fleet had been arranged in due order, he embarked upon the decks as many of his shield-bearing guards as seemed sufficient for his enterprise, unless a sea battle were to be fought rather by breaking the enemy's line than by a close conflict. He then started from Sidon and sailed towards Tyre with his ships arranged in proper order, himself being on the right wing which stretched out seaward; and with him were the kings of the Cyprians, and all those of the Phœnicians except Pnytagoras, who with Craterus was commanding the left wing of the whole line. The Tyrians had previously resolved to fight a sea battle if Alexander should sail against them by sea. But then with surprise they beheld the vast multitude of his ships; for they had not yet learnt that Alexander had all the ships of the Cyprians and Phœnicians. At the same time they were surprised to see that he was sailing against them with his fleet arranged in due order; for Alexander's fleet a little before it came near the city tarried for a

while out in the open sea, with the view of provoking the Tyrians to come out to a battle; but afterwards, as the enemy did not put out to sea against them, though they were thus arranged in line, they advanced to the attack with a great dashing of oars. Seeing this, the Tyrians decided not to fight a battle at sea, but closely blocked up the passage for ships with as many triremes as the mouths of their harbor would contain, and guarded it, so that the enemy's fleet might not find an anchorage in one of the harbors.

As the Tyrians did not put out to sea against him, Alexander sailed near the city, but resolved not to try to force an entrance into the harbor toward Sidon on account of the narrowness of its mouth; and at the same time because he saw that the entrance had been blocked up with many triremes having their prows turned toward him. But the Phœnicians fell upon the three triremes moored farthest out at the mouth of the harbor, and attacking them prow to prow, succeeded in sinking them. However, the men in the ships easily swam off to the land which was friendly to them. Then, indeed, Alexander moored his ships along the shore not far from the mole which had been made, where there appeared to be shelter from the winds; and on the following day he ordered the Cyprians with their ships and their admiral Andromachus to moor near the city opposite the harbor which faces towards Sidon, and the Phœnicians opposite the harbor which looks towards Egypt, situated on the other side of the mole, where also was his own tent.

He had now collected many engineers both from Cyprus and the whole of Phœnicia, and many engines of war had been constructed, some upon the mole, others upon vessels used for transporting horses, which he brought with him from Sidon, and others upon the triremes which were not fast sailers. When all the preparations had been completed they brought the engines of war both along the mole that had been made and also from the ships moored near various parts of the wall and attempted to

FIG. 21. ENTABLATURE AND UPPER PART OF COLUMN FROM THE MAUSOLEUM

breach it. The Tyrians erected wooden towers on their battlements opposite the mole, from which they might annoy the enemy; and if the engines of war were brought near any other part, they defended themselves with missiles and shot at the very ships with fire-bearing arrows, so that they deterred the Macedonians from approaching the wall. Their walls opposite the mole were about one hundred and fifty feet high, witn a breadth in proportion, and constructed with large stones embedded in gypsum. It was not easy for the horse-transports and the triremes of the Macedonians, which were conveying the engines of war up to the wall, to approach the city, because a great quantity of stones hurled forward into the sea prevented their near assault. These stones Alexander determined to drag out of the sea; but this was a work accomplished with great difficulty, since it was performed from ships and not from the firm earth; especially as the Tyrians, covering their ships with screens, brought them alongside the anchors of the triremes, and cutting the cables of the anchors underneath, made anchoring impossible for the enemy's ships. But Alexander covered many thirty-oared vessels with screens in the same way, and placed them athwart in front of the anchors, so that the assault of the ships was repelled by them. But, notwithstanding this, divers under the sea secretly cut their cables. The Macedonians then used chains to their anchors instead of cables, and let them down so that the divers could do nothing further. Then, fastening slipknots to the stones, they dragged them out of the sea from the mole; and having raised them aloft with cranes, they discharged them into deep water, where they were no longer likely to do injury by being hurled forward. The ships now easily approached the part of the wall where it had been made clear of the stones which had been hurled forward. The Tyrians, being now reduced to great straits on all sides, resolved to make an attack on the Cyprian ships, which were moored opposite the harbor turned towards Sidon. For a long time they spread sails across the mouth of the

harbor, in order that the manning of the triremes might not be discernible; and about the middle of the day, when the sailors were scattered in quest of necessaries, and when Alexander usually retired to his tent from the fleet on the other side of the city, they manned three quinqueremes, an equal number of quadriremes, and seven triremes with the most expert complement of rowers possible, and with the best-armed men adapted for fighting from the decks, together with the men most daring in naval contests. At first they rowed out slowly and quietly in single file, moving forward the handles of their oars without any signal from the men who give the time to the rowers; but when they were near enough to be seen, then indeed with a loud shout and encouragement to each other, and at the same time with impetuous rowing, they commenced the attack.

It happened on that day that Alexander went away to his tent, but after a short time returned to his ship, not tarrying according to his wont. The Tyrians fell all of a sudden upon the ships lying at their moorings, finding some entirely empty and others being manned with difficulty from those who happened to be present at the very time of the shout and attack. At the first onset they at once sank the quinquereme of the king Pnytagoras, that of Androcles the Amathusian, and that of Pasicrates the Curian; and they shattered the other ships by pushing them ashore. But when Alexander perceived the sailing out of the Tyrian triremes, he ordered most of the ships under his command, whenever each was manned, to take position at the mouth of the harbor, so that the rest of the Tyrian ships might not sail out. He then took the quinqueremes which he had and about five of the triremes, which were manned by him in haste before the rest were ready, and sailed round the city against the Tyrians who had sailed out of the harbor. The men on the wall, perceiving the enemy's attack and observing that Alexander himself was in the fleet, began to shout to those in their own ships, urging them to return; but as their shouts were

not audible, on account of the noise of those who were engaged in the action, they exhorted them to retreat by various kinds of signals. At last after a long time the Tyrians, perceiving the impending attack of Alexander's fleet, tacked about and began to flee into the harbor; and a few of their ships succeeded in escaping, but Alexander's vessels assaulted the greater number, and rendered some of them unfit for sailing; and a quinquereme and a quadrireme were captured at the very mouth of the harbor. But the slaughter of the marines was not great; for when they perceived that the ships were in possession of the enemy, they swam off without difficulty into the harbor. As the Tyrians could no longer derive any aid from their ships, the Macedonians now brought up their military engines to the wall itself. Those which were brought near the city along the mole did no damage worth mentioning on account of the strength of the wall there. Others brought up some of the ships conveying military engines opposite the part of the city turned towards Sidon. But when even there they met with no success, Alexander passed round to the wall projecting towards the south wind and toward Egypt, and tried everywhere to make a breach. Here first a large piece of the wall was thoroughly shaken, and a part of it was even broken and thrown down. Then indeed for a short time he tried to make a storm to the extent of throwing a drawbridge upon the part of the wall where a breach had been made. But the Tyrians without much difficulty beat the Macedonians back.

The third day after this, having waited for a calm sea, after encouraging the leaders of the regiments for the action, he led the ships containing the military engines up to the city. In the first place he shook down a large piece of the wall; and when the breach appeared to be sufficiently wide, he ordered the vessels conveying the military engines to retire, and brought up two others, which carried the bridges, which he intended to throw upon the breach in the wall. The shield-bearing guards occupied one of

these vessels, which he had put under the command of Admetus; and the other was occupied by the regiment of Cœnus, called the foot companions. Alexander himself, with the shield-bearing guards, intended to scale the wall where it might be practicable. He ordered some of his triremes to sail against both of the harbors, to see if by any means they could force an entrance when the Tyrians had turned themselves to oppose him. He also ordered those of his triremes which contained the missiles to be hurled from engines, or which were carrying archers upon deck, to sail right round the wall and to run aground wherever it was practicable, and to take up position within shooting range, where it was impossible to run aground, so that the Tyrians, being shot at from all quarters, might become distracted, and not know whither to turn in their distress. When Alexander's ships drew close to the city and the bridges were thrown from them upon the wall, the shield-bearing guards mounted valiantly along these upon the wall; for their captain, Admetus, proved himself brave on that occasion, and Alexander accompanied them, both as a courageous participant in the action itself, and as a witness of brilliant and dangerous feats of valor performed by others. The first part of the wall that was captured was where Alexander had posted himself; the Tyrians being easily beaten back from it, as soon as the Macedonians found firm footing, and at the same time a way of entrance not abrupt on every side. Admetus was the first to mount the wall; but while cheering on his men to mount, he was struck with a spear and died on the spot. After him, Alexander with the companions got possession of the wall; and when some of the towers and the parts of the wall between them were in his hands, he advanced through the battlements to the royal palace, because the descent into the city that way seemed the easiest.

To return to the fleet, the Phœnicians, forcing their way into the harbor looking towards Egypt, facing which they happened to be moored, and bursting the bars asunder, shattered the ships in

the harbor, attacking some of them in deep water and driving others ashore. The Cyprians also sailed into the other harbor looking towards Sidon, which had no bar across it, and made a speedy capture of the city on that side. The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it in the enemy's possession; and rallying opposite what was called the sanctuary of Agenor, they there turned round to resist the Macedonians. Against these Alexander advanced with his shield-bearing guards, destroyed the men who fought there, and pursued those who fled. Great was the slaughter also made both by those who were now occupying the city from the harbor and by the regiment of Cœnus, which had also entered it. For the Macedonians were now for the most part advancing full of rage, being angry both at the length of the siege and also because the Tyrians, having captured some of their men sailing from Sidon, had conveyed them to the top of their wall, so that the deed might be visible from the camp, and after slaughtering them, had cast their bodies into the sea. About 8000 of the Tyrians were killed; and of the Macedonians, besides Admetus, who had proved himself a valiant man, being the first to scale the wall, twenty of the shield-bearing guards were killed in the assault on that occasion. In the whole siege about 400 Macedonians were slain. Alexander gave an amnesty to all those who fled for refuge into the temple of Heracles; among them being most of the Tyrian magistrates, including the king Azemilcus, as well as certain envoys from the Carthaginians, who had come to their mother-city to attend the sacrifice in honor of Heracles, according to an ancient custom. The rest of the prisoners were reduced to slavery; all the Tyrians and mercenary troops, to the number of about 30,000 who had been captured, being sold. Alexander then offered sacrifice to Heracles, and conducted a procession in honor of that deity with all his soldiers fully armed. The ships also took part in this religious procession in honor of Heracles. He, moreover, held a gymnastic contest in

the temple and celebrated a torch race. The military engine, also, with which the wall had been battered down, was brought into the temple and dedicated as a thank-offering; and the Tyrian ship sacred to Heracles, which had been captured in the naval attack, was likewise dedicated to the god. An inscription was placed on it, either composed by Alexander himself or by some one else; but as it is not worthy of recollection, I have not deemed it worth while to describe it. Thus, then, was Tyre captured in the month Hecatombaion, when Anicetus was archon at Athens.

QUESTIONS

1. Why did Alexander march into Phœnicia after the battle of Issus instead of following Darius? 2. What was one of the very important effects of the battle? 3. What did Alexander mean when he excused the maritime states for joining the Persians on the ground of "necessity"? 4. By what methods did Alexander attempt to take Tyre? 5. How did the Tyrians defend their city? 6. What great difference between this siege and the siege of Port Arthur? 7. To what was the capture of Tyre due? 8. What barbarous acts are mentioned in the text? 9. What was there peculiar about the way in which Alexander celebrated the victory?

E. The Battle of Arbela

Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 8, 9

1. The whole army of Darius was said to contain 40,000 cavalry, 1,000,000 infantry, and 200 scythe-bearing chariots. There were only a few elephants, about fifteen in number, belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus. With these forces Darius had encamped at Guagamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stades distant from the city of Arbela, in a district everywhere level; for whatever ground thereabouts was unlevel and unfit for the evolutions of cavalry had long before been levelled by the Persians, and made fit for the easy

rolling of chariots and for the galloping of horses. For there were some who persuaded Darius that he had forsooth got the worst of it in the battle fought at Issus, from the narrowness of the battle-field; and this he was easily induced to believe.

When Alexander had received all this information from the Persian scouts who had been captured, he remained four days in the place where he had received the news; and gave his army rest after the march. He meanwhile fortified his camp with a ditch and stockade, as he intended to leave behind the baggage and all the soldiers who were unfit for fighting, and to go into the contest accompanied by his warriors carrying with them nothing except their weapons. Accordingly he took his forces by night, and began the march about the second watch, in order to come into collision with the foreigners at break of day. As soon as Darius was informed of Alexander's approach, he at once drew out his army for battle; and Alexander led on his men drawn up in like manner. Though the armies were only sixty stades from each other, they were not yet in sight of each other, for between the hostile forces some hills intervened. But when Alexander was only thirty stades distant from the enemy, and his army was already marching down from the hills just mentioned, catching sight of the foreigners he caused his phalanx to halt there. Calling a council of the companions, generals, cavalry officers, and leaders of the Grecian allies and mercenaries, he deliberated with them whether he should at once lead on the phalanx without delay, as most of them urged him to do; or whether, as Parmenio thought preferable, to encamp there for the present, to reconnoitre all the ground, in order to see if there was anything there to excite suspicion or to impede their progress, or if there were ditches or stakes firmly fixed in the earth out of sight, as well as to make a more accurate survey of the enemy's tactical arrangements. Parmenio's opinion prevailed, so they encamped there, drawn up in the order in which they intended to enter the battle. But

Alexander took the light infantry and the cavalry companions and went all round, reconnoitring the whole country where he was about to fight the battle. Having returned, he again called together the same leaders, and said that they did not require to be encouraged by him to enter the contest; for they had been long before encouraged by their own valor, and by the gallant deeds which they had already so often achieved. He thought it expedient that each of them individually should stir up his own men separately; each infantry captain the men of his own company, the cavalry captain his own squadron, the colonels their various regiments, and each of the leaders of the infantry the phalanx intrusted to him. He assured them that in this battle they were going to fight, not as before, either for Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, or Egypt, but for the whole of Asia. For he said this battle would decide who were to be the rulers of the continent.

Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 11

2. Darius and his army remained drawn up during the night in the same order as that in which they had first arrayed themselves; because they had not surrounded themselves with a completely entrenched camp, and, moreover, they were afraid that the enemy would attack them in the night. The success of the Persians, on this occasion, was impeded especially by this long standing on watch with their arms, and by the fear which usually springs up before great dangers; which, however, was not then suddenly aroused by a momentary panic, but had been experienced for a long time, and had thoroughly cowed their spirits.

Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 12–15

3. In this way had Alexander marshalled his army in front; but he also posted a second array, so that his phalanx might be a double one. Directions had been given to the commanders of these men posted in the rear, to wheel round and receive the

attack of the foreigners, if they should see their own comrades surrounded by the Persian army. Next to the royal squadron on the right wing, half of the Agrianians, under the command of Attalus, in conjunction with the Macedonian archers under Briso's command, were posted angular-wise (*i.e* in such a way that the wings were thrown forward at an angle with the centre, so as to take the enemy in flank) in case they should be seized anyhow by the necessity of folding back the phalanx (*i.e.* of deepening it by countermarching from front to rear), or of closing up the ranks. Next to the archers were the men called the veteran mercenaries, whose commander was Cleander. In front of the Agrianians and archers were posted the light cavalry used for skirmishing, and the Pæonians, under the command of Aretes and Aristo. In front of all had been posted the Grecian mercenary cavalry under the direction of Menidas; and in front of the royal squadron of cavalry and the other companions had been posted half of the Agrianians and archers, and the javelin-men of Balacrus who had been ranged opposite the scythe-bearing chariots. Instructions had been given to Menidas and the troops under him to wheel round and attack the enemy in flank, if they should ride round their wing. Thus had Alexander arranged matters on the right wing. On the left the Thracians under the command of Sitalces had been posted angular-wise, and near them the cavalry of the Grecian allies, under the direction of Cœranus. Next stood the Odrysian cavalry, under the command of Agatho, son of Tyrimmas. In this part, in front of all, were posted the auxiliary cavalry of the Grecian mercenaries, under the direction of Andromachus, son of Hiero. Near the baggage the infantry from Thrace were posted as a guard. The whole of Alexander's army numbered 7000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry.

When the armies drew near each other, Darius and the men around him were observed; viz. the apple-bearing Persians, the Indians, the Albanians, the Carians who had been forcibly

transported into Central Asia, the Mardian archers ranged opposite Alexander himself, and the royal squadron of cavalry. Alexander led his own army more towards the right, and the Persians marched along parallel with him, far outflanking him upon their left. Then the Scythian cavalry rode along the line, and came into conflict with the front men of Alexander's array; but he nevertheless still continued to march towards the right, and almost entirely got beyond the ground which had been cleared and levelled by the Persians. Then Darius, fearing that his chariots would become useless, if the Macedonians advanced into the uneven ground, ordered the front ranks of his left wing to ride round the right wing of the Macedonians, where Alexander was commanding, to prevent him from marching his wing any farther. This being done, Alexander ordered the cavalry of the Grecian mercenaries under the command of Menidas to attack them. But the Scythian cavalry and the Bactrians, who had been drawn up with them, sallied forth against them, and being much more numerous they put the small body of Greeks to rout. Alexander then ordered Aristo at the head of the Pæonians and Grecian auxiliaries to attack the Scythians; and the barbarians gave way. But the rest of the Bactrians drawing near to the Pæonians and Grecian auxiliaries caused their own comrades who were already in flight to turn and renew the battle; and thus they brought about a general cavalry engagement, in which more of Alexander's men fell, not only being overwhelmed by the multitude of the barbarians, but also because the Scythians themselves and their horses were much more completely protected with armor for guarding their bodies. Notwithstanding this, the Macedonians sustained their assaults, and assailing them violently squadron by squadron, they succeeded in pushing them out of rank. Meantime the foreigners launched their scythe-bearing chariots against Alexander himself, for the purpose of throwing his phalanx into confusion; but in this they were grievously deceived. For as soon as they approached,

the Agrianians and the javelin-men with Balacrus, who had been posted in front of the companion cavalry, hurled their javelins at some of the horses; others they seized by the reins and pulled the drivers off, and standing round the horses killed them. Yet some got right through the ranks, for the men stood apart and opened their ranks, as they had been instructed, in the places where the chariots assaulted them. In this way it generally happened that the chariots passed through safely, and the men by whom they were driven were uninjured. But these also were afterwards overpowered by the grooms of Alexander's army and by the royal shield-bearing guards.

As soon as Darius began to set his whole phalanx in motion, Alexander ordered Aretes to attack those who were riding completely round his right wing; and up to that time he was himself leading his men in column. But when the Persians had made a break in the front line of their army, in consequence of the cavalry sallying forth to assist those who were surrounding the right wing, Alexander wheeled round towards the gap, and forming a wedge as it were of the companion cavalry and of the part of the phalanx which was posted here, he led them with a quick charge and loud battle-cry straight towards Darius himself. For a short time there ensued a hand-to-hand fight; but when the Macedonian cavalry, commanded by Alexander himself, pressed on vigorously, thrusting themselves against the Persians and striking their faces with their spears, and when the Macedonian phalanx in dense array and bristling with long pikes had also made an attack upon them, all things together appeared full of terror to Darius, who had already long been in a state of fear, so that he was the first to turn and flee. The Persians also who were riding round the wing were seized with alarm when Aretes made a vigorous attack upon them. In this quarter indeed the Persians took to speedy flight; and the Macedonians followed up the fugitives and slaughtered them. Simmias and his brigade were not yet able to start

with Alexander in pursuit, but causing the phalanx to halt there, he took part in the struggle, because the left wing of the Macedonians was reported to be hard pressed. In this part of the field, their line being broken, some of the Indians and of the Persian cavalry burst through the gap towards the baggage of the Macedonians; and there the action became desperate. For the Persians fell boldly on the men, who were most of them unarmed, and never expected that any men would cut through the double phalanx and break through upon them. When the Persians made this attack, the foreign prisoners also assisted them by falling upon the Macedonians in the midst of the action. But the commanders of the men who had been posted as a reserve to the first phalanx, learning what was taking place, quickly moved from the position which they had been ordered to take, and coming upon the Persians in the rear, killed many of them there collected round the baggage. But the rest of them gave way and fled. The Persians on the right wing, who had not yet become aware of the flight of Darius, rode round Alexander's left wing and attacked Parmenio in flank.

At this juncture, the Macedonians being at first in a state of confusion from being attacked on all sides, Parmenio sent a messenger to Alexander in haste, to tell him that their side was in a critical position and that he must send him aid. When this news was brought to Alexander, he turned back again from further pursuit, and wheeling round with the companion cavalry, led them with great speed against the right wing of the foreigners. In the first place he assaulted the fleeing cavalry of the enemy, the Parthians, some of the Indians, and the most numerous and the bravest division of the Persians. Then ensued the most obstinately contested cavalry fight in the whole engagement. For being drawn up by squadrons, the foreigners wheeled round in deep column, and falling on Alexander's men face to face, they no longer relied on the hurling of javelins or the dexterous deploying of horses, as is

the common practice in cavalry battles, but every one on his own account strove eagerly to break through what stood in his way, as their only means of safety. They struck and were struck without quarter, as they were no longer struggling to secure the victory for another, but were contending for their own personal safety. Here about sixty of Alexander's companions fell; and Hephæstion himself, as well as Cœnus and Menidas, was wounded. But these troops also were overcome by Alexander; and as many of them as could force their way through his ranks fled with all their might. And now Alexander had nearly come into conflict with the enemy's right wing; but in the meantime the Thessalian cavalry, in a splendid struggle, were not falling short of Alexander's success in the engagement. For the foreigners on the right wing were already beginning to fly when he came on the scene of conflict; so that he wheeled round again and started off in pursuit of Darius once more, keeping up the chase as long as there was daylight. Parmenio's brigade also followed in pursuit of those who were opposed to them.

QUESTIONS

1. Is it probable that Darius had more than a million men in line at Arbela? 2. Why should we not believe it, if Arrian says so? 3. Did Alexander depend entirely upon himself in deciding what should be done at Arbela? 4. What was the first mistake that Darius made? 5. How many kinds of soldiers (referring to arms and methods of fighting) were employed in Alexander's army? 6. What arms had Darius not possessed by Alexander? 7. Describe the battle, breaking it up into parts. 8. Draw a rough plan of the battle. 9. Did the fighting cease when Darius fled? 10. Was the victory an easy one for the Macedonians? 11. What was the chief cause of the Persian defeat? 12. What was the significance of the battle? 13. Is it probable that Alexander realized this before the battle?

F. The Pursuit of Darius

Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 21

1. At this time Bagistanes, one of the Babylonian nobles, came to him (Alexander) from the camp of Darius, accompanied by Antibelus, one of the sons of Mazæus. These men informed him that Nabarzanes, the commander of the cavalry which accompanied Darius in his flight; Bessus, viceroy of the Bactrians and Barsaentes, viceroy of the Arachotians and Drangians, had arrested the king. When Alexander heard this he marched with still greater speed than ever, taking with him only the companions and the skirmishing cavalry, as well as some of the foot soldiers, selected as the strongest and lightest men. . . . His own men took with them nothing but their arms and provisions for two days. After marching the whole night until noon of the next day he gave his army a short rest, then went on again all night, and when day began to break reached the camp from which Bagistanes had set out to meet him; but he did not catch the enemy. However, in regard to Darius, he ascertained that he had been arrested and was being conveyed in a covered carriage; that Bessus possessed the command instead of Darius. . . . He also learned that those who had arrested Darius had come to the decision to surrender him to Alexander and to procure some advantage for themselves, if they should find that Alexander was pursuing them. . . . Hearing this, Alexander thought it necessary to pursue with all his might; and though his men and horses were already quite fatigued by the incessant severity of their labors, he nevertheless proceeded, and, traveling a long way all through the night and the next day till noon, arrived at a certain village, where those who were leading Darius had encamped the day before. Hearing there that the barbarians had decided to continue their march by night, he inquired of the natives if they knew any shorter road to

the fugitives. They said they did know one, but it ran through a country which was desert through lack of water. He nevertheless ordered them to show him this way, and perceiving that the infantry could not keep up with him if he marched at full speed, he caused 500 of the cavalry to dismount from their horses, and selecting the officers of the infantry and the best of the other foot soldiers, he ordered them to mount the horses armed just as they were. He also directed Nicanor, the commander of the shield-bearing guards, and Attalus, commander of the Agrianians, to lead their men who were left behind by the same route which Bessus had taken, having equipped them as lightly as possible; and he ordered the rest of the infantry to follow in regular marching order. He himself began to march in the afternoon, and led the way with great rapidity. Having travelled 400 stades in the night, he came upon the barbarians just before daybreak, going along without any order and unarmed; so that only a few of them rushed to defend themselves, but most of them, as soon as they saw Alexander himself, took to flight without even coming to blows. A few of those who had turned to resist being killed, the rest of these also took to flight. Up to this time, Bessus and his party were still conveying Darius with them in a covered carriage; but when Alexander was already close upon them, Nabarzanes and Barsaentes wounded him and left him there, and with 600 horsemen took to flight. Darius died from his wounds soon after, before Alexander had seen him.

QUESTIONS

1. Point out some incidents of the pursuit of Darius by Alexander that illustrate some of the characteristics to which the success of Alexander was due. 2. Why did he substitute infantry for the dismounted cavalrymen?

G. The Death of Clitus

Arrian, *Anabasis*, IV, 8, 9

1. Here then I shall give an account of the tragic fate of Clitus, son of Dropidas, and of Alexander's mishap in regard to it. Though it occurred a little while after this, it will not be out of place here. The Macedonians kept a day sacred to Dionysus, and on that day Alexander used to offer sacrifice to him every year. But they say that on this occasion he was neglectful of Dionysus, and sacrificed to the Dioscuri instead; for he had resolved to offer sacrifice to those deities for some reason or other. When the drinking-party on this occasion had already gone on too long (for Alexander had now made innovations even in regard to drinking, by imitating too much the custom of foreigners), and in the midst of the carouse a discussion had arisen about the Dioscuri, how their procreation had been taken away from Tyndareus and ascribed to Zeus, some of those present, in order to flatter Alexander, maintained that Polydeuces and Castor were in no way worthy to compare with him and his exploits. Such men have always destroyed and will never cease to ruin the interests of those who happen to be reigning. In their carousal they did not even abstain from (comparing him with) Heracles, saying that envy stood in the way of the living receiving the honors due to them from their associates. It was well known that Clitus had long been vexed at Alexander for the change in his style of living in excessive imitation of foreign customs, and at those who flattered him with their speech. At that time, also, being heated with wine, he would not permit them either to insult the deity, or, by depreciating the deeds of the ancient heroes, to confer upon Alexander this gratification which deserved no thanks. He affirmed Alexander's deeds were neither in fact at all so great or marvellous as they represented in their laudation; nor had he achieved them by himself, but for the most part they were the deeds of the Macedonians. The delivery of

Fig. 22. Victory of Samothrace

the speech annoyed Alexander; and I do not commend it, for I think, in such a drunken bout, it would have been sufficient if, so far as he was personally concerned, he had kept silence, and not committed the error of indulging in the same flattery as the others. But when some even mentioned Philip's actions without exercising a just judgment, declaring that he had performed nothing great or marvellous, they herein gratified Alexander; but Clitus being then no longer able to contain himself began to put Philip's achievements in the first rank, and to depreciate Alexander and his performances. Clitus being now quite intoxicated, made other depreciatory remarks and even vehemently reviled him, because forsooth he had saved his life, when the cavalry battle had been fought with the Persians at the Granicus. Then, indeed, arrogantly stretching out his right hand, he said: "This hand, O Alexander, preserved thee on that occasion." Alexander could now no longer endure the drunken insolence of Clitus; but jumped up against him in a great rage. He was, however, restrained by his boon companions. As Clitus did not desist from his insulting remarks, Alexander shouted out a summons for his shield-bearing guards to attend him; but when no one obeyed him, he said that he was reduced to the same position as Darius, when he was led about under arrest by Bessus and his adherents, and that he now possessed the mere name of king. Then his companions were no longer able to restrain him; for according to some he leaped up and snatched a javelin from one of his confidential body-guards; according to others, a long pike from one of his ordinary guards, with which he struck Clitus and killed him. Aristobulus does not say whence the drunken quarrel originated, but asserts that the fault was entirely on the side of Clitus, who, when Alexander had got so enraged with him as to jump up against him with the intention of making an end of him, was led away by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, the confidential body guard, through the gateway, beyond the wall and ditch of the citadel where the quarrel occurred. He

adds that Clitus could not control himself, but went back again, and falling in with Alexander who was calling out for Clitus, he exclaimed: "Alexander, here am I, Clitus!" Thereupon he was struck with a long pike and killed.

I think Clitus deserving of severe censure for his insolent behavior to his king, while at the same time I pity Alexander for his mishap, because on that occasion he showed himself the slave of two vices, anger and drunkenness, by neither of which is it seemly for a prudent man to be enslaved. But then, on the other hand, I think his subsequent behavior worthy of praise, because directly after he had done the deed he recognized that it was a horrible one. Some of his biographers even say that he propped the pike against the wall with the intention of falling upon it himself, thinking that it was not proper for him to live who had killed his friend when under the influence of wine. Most historians do not mention this, but say that he went off to bed and lay there lamenting, calling Clitus himself by name, and his sister Lanice, daughter of Dropidas, who had been his nurse. He exclaimed that having reached man's estate he had forsooth bestowed on her a noble reward for her care in rearing him, as she had lived to see her own sons die fighting on his behalf, and he himself had slain her brother with his own hand. He did not cease calling himself the murderer of his friends; and for three days rigidly abstained from food and drink, and paid no attention whatever to his personal appearance.

QUESTIONS

1. What difference between the European and Oriental attitude towards a king was brought out in the discussion at the drinking bout? 2. Why was it natural for the first to steadily become more prominent in the life of Alexander? 3. How much truth was there in the remarks of Clitus about Alexander and his father? 4. How did Arrian know what took place between Alexander and Clitus? 5. Did all his sources

agree? 6. Was Alexander's deed a natural one under the circumstances? 7. Does it follow that he was a bad man?

H. Alexander Wounded

Arrian, *Anabasis*, VI, 9–13

1. On the following day, dividing the army into two parts, he himself assaulted the wall at the head of one and Perdiccas led on the other. Upon this the Indians did not wait to receive the attack of the Macedonians, but abandoned the walls of the city and fled for safety into the citadel. Alexander and his troops, therefore, split open a small gate, and got within the city long before the others; for those who had been put under Perdiccas were behind time, having experienced difficulty in scaling the walls, as most of them did not bring ladders, thinking that the city had been captured, when they observed that the walls were deserted by the defenders. But when the citadel was seen to be still in possession of the enemy, and many of them were observed drawn up in front of it to repel the attacks, some of the Macedonians tried to force an entry by undermining the wall, and others by placing scaling ladders against it wherever it was practicable to do so. Alexander, thinking that the men who carried the ladders were too slow, snatched one from a man who was carrying it, placed it against the wall himself, and began to mount it, crouching under his shield. After him mounted Peucestas, the man who carried the sacred shield which Alexander took from the temple of the Trojan Athena, and used to keep with him and have it carried before him in all his battles. After Peucestas, by the same ladder, ascended Leonnatus, the confidential body-guard; and up another ladder went Abreas, one of the soldiers who received double pay for distinguished services. The king was now near the battlement of the walls, and leaning his shield against it was pushing some of the Indians within the fort, and had cleared that part of the wall by killing others with his sword. The shield-bearing guards,

becoming very anxious for the king's safety, pushed themselves with ardor up the same ladder and broke it; so that those who were already mounting fell down and made the ascent impractical for the rest. Alexander, then, standing upon the walls, was being assailed all around from the adjacent towers; for none of the Indians dared to approach him. He was also being assailed by the men in the city, who were throwing darts at him from no great distance; for a mound of earth happened to have been heaped up there opposite the walls. Alexander was conspicuous both by the brilliancy of his weapons and by his extraordinary display of audacity. He therefore perceived that if he remained where he was he would be incurring danger without being able to perform anything at all worthy of consideration; but if he leaped down within the fort he might, perhaps, by this very act strike the Indians with terror, and if he did not, but should only thereby be incurring danger, and at any rate he would die not ignobly after performing great deeds of valor worth hearing about by men of after-times. Forming this resolution, he leaped down from the wall into the citadel; where, supporting himself against the wall, he struck with his sword and killed some of the Indians who came to close quarters with him, including their leader, who rushed upon him too boldly. Another man who approached him he kept in check by hurling a stone at him, and a third in like manner. Another, who had advanced nearer to him, he again kept off with his sword; so that the barbarians were no longer willing to approach him, but standing around him, cast at him from all sides whatever missile any one happened to have or could get hold of at the time.

Meantime, Peucestas and Abreas, the soldier entitled to double pay, and after them Leonnatus, being the only men who happened to have scaled the walls before the ladders were broken, had leaped down and were fighting in front of the king. Abreas, the man entitled to double pay, fell there, being shot with an arrow in the forehead. Alexander, himself, also was wounded with an

arrow under the breast, through his breastplate in the chest, so that, Ptolemy says, air was breathed out from the wound together with the blood. But although he was faint from exhaustion, he defended himself as long as his blood was still warm. But the blood streaming out copiously and without ceasing at every expiration of breath, he was seized with a dizziness and swooning, and bending over, fell upon his shield. After he had fallen, Peucestas defended him, holding over him in front the sacred shield brought from Troy; and on the other side he was defended by Leonnatus. But both these men were themselves wounded, and Alexander was now nearly fainting away from loss of blood. For the Macedonians had experienced great difficulty in the assault also on this account, because those who saw Alexander being shot at upon the walls, and then leaping down into the citadel within, in their ardor arising from fear lest their king should meet with any mishap by recklessly exposing himself to danger, broke the ladders. Then some began to devise one plan and others another to mount upon the walls, as well as they could in their state of embarrassment, some fixing pegs into the wall, which was made of earth, and suspending themselves from these, hoisted themselves up with difficulty by their means; others got up by mounting one upon the other. The first who got up threw himself down from the wall into the city, and so did they all, with a loud lamentation and howl of grief, when they saw the king lying on the ground. Now ensued a desperate conflict around the fallen body, one Macedonian after another holding his shield in front of him. In the meantime some of the soldiers having shivered in pieces the bar by which the gate in the space of the wall between the towers was secured, entered the city a few at a time; while others, putting their shoulders under the gap made by the gate, forced their way into the space inside the wall, and thus laid the citadel open in that quarter.

Hereupon some of them began to kill the Indians, all of whom they slew, sparing not even a woman or child. Others carried off

the king, who was lying in a faint condition upon his shield; and they could not yet tell whether he was likely to survive. . . .

When the ship bearing the king approached the camp he ordered the tent covering to be removed from the stern that he might be visible to all. But they were still incredulous, thinking, forsooth, that Alexander's corpse was being conveyed on the vessel; until at length he stretched out his hand to the multitude when the ship was nearing the bank. Then the men raised a cheer, lifting their hands, some toward the sky, and others to the king himself. Many even shed involuntary tears at the unexpected sight. Some of the shield-bearing guards brought a litter for him when he was conveyed out of the ship; but he ordered them to fetch his horse. When he was seen again mounting his horse, the whole army re-echoed with loud clapping of hands, so that the banks of the river and the groves near them reverberated with the sound. On approaching his tent he dismounted from his horse, so that he might be seen walking. Then the men came near, some on one side, some on the other, some touching his hands, others his knees, others only his clothes. Some only came close enough to get a sight of him, and went away having chanted his praise, while others threw garlands upon him of the flowers which the country of Indian supplied at that season of the year. Nearchus says that some of his friends incurred his displeasure, reproaching him for exposing himself to danger in the front of the army in battle; which, they said, was the duty of the private soldier and not that of the general.

QUESTIONS

1. Why did Alexander expose his life in scaling the wall? 2. Had he been a common soldier, would he have escaped alive? 3. What inducement had the soldiers to perform daring deeds? 4. What kind of soldiers does this incident show that the Macedonians were? 5. Do you feel that this account of the wounding of Alexander is, on the whole, true? 6. What do you think of the story of Ptolemy that an arrow came out

of the wound? 7. Why should the soldiers think that the death of Alexander would be concealed from them? 8. Why did Alexander mount his horse rather than allow himself to be carried in a litter? 9. Do you think that there was any connection between the daring way in which Alexander exposed himself and the affection of the soldiers for him?

J. The Death of Alexander

Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 25–28

1. The Royal Diary gives the following account (31 May), to the effect that he revelled and drank at the dwelling of Medius; (1 June) After retiring from the drinking party he took a bath; after which he took a little food and slept there, because he already felt feverish. He was carried out upon a couch to the sacrifices, in order that he might offer them according to his daily custom. After placing the sacrifices (upon the altar) he lay down in the banqueting hall until dusk. In the meantime he gave instructions to the officers about the expedition and voyage, ordering those who were going on foot to be ready on the fourth day, and those who were going to sail with him to be ready to sail on the fifth day. From this place he was carried upon the couch to the river, where he embarked in a boat and sailed across the river to the park. There he again took a bath and went to rest. (3 June) On the following day he took another bath and offered the customary sacrifices. He then entered a tester bed, lay down, and chatted with Medius. He also ordered his officers to meet him at daybreak. Having done this he ate a little supper and was again conveyed into the tester bed. The fever now raged the whole night without intermission. (4 June) The next day he took a bath; after which he offered sacrifice, and gave orders to Nearchus and the other officers that the voyage should begin on the third day. (5 June) The next day he bathed again and offered the prescribed sacrifices. After placing the sacrifices (upon the altar) he did not yet

keep quiet though suffering from the fever. Notwithstanding this, he summoned the officers and gave them instructions to have all things ready for the starting of the fleet. In the evening he took a bath, after which he was very ill. (6 June) The next day he was transferred to the house near the swimming-bath, where he offered the prescribed sacrifices. Though he was now very dangerously ill, he summoned the most responsible of his officers and gave them fresh instructions about the voyage. (7 June) On the following day he was with difficulty carried out to the sacrifices, which he offered; and none the less gave other orders to the officers about the voyage. (8 June) The next day, though he was now very ill, he offered the prescribed sacrifices. He now gave orders that the generals should remain in attendance in the hall, and that the colonels and captains should remain before the gates. But being now altogether in a dangerous state, he was conveyed from the park into the palace. When his officers entered the room, he knew them indeed, but no longer uttered a word, being speechless. (9 June) During the ensuing night and day and the next night and day he was in a very high fever (10 June).

Such is the account given in the Royal Diary. In addition to this, it states that the soldiers were very desirous of seeing him; some, in order to see him once more while still alive; others, because there was a report that he was already dead, imagined that his death was being concealed by the confidential body-guards, as I for my part suppose. Most of them through grief and affection for their king forced their way in to see him. It is said that when his soldiers passed by him he was unable to speak; yet he greeted each of them with his right hand, raising his head with difficulty and making a sign with his eyes. The Royal Diary also says that Peithon, Attalus, Demophon, and Peucestas, as well as Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, slept in the temple of Serapis, and asked the god whether it would be better and more desirable for Alexander to be carried into his temple, in order as a suppliant

to be cured by him. A voice issued from the god saying that he was not to be carried into the temple, but that it would be better for him to remain where he was. This answer was reported by the companions; and soon after Alexander died, as if forsooth this were now the better thing (11 June, in the evening, 28th of Daisios or Thargelion). Neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy has given an account differing much from the preceding. Some authors, however, have related that his companions asked him to whom he left his kingdom; and that he replied: "To the best." Others say, that in addition to this remark, he told them that he saw there would be a great funeral contest held in his honor.

I am aware that many other particulars have been related by historians concerning Alexander's death, and especially that poison was sent for him by Antipater, from the effects of which he died. It is also asserted that the poison was procured for Antipater by Aristotle, who was now afraid of Alexander on account of Callisthenes. It is said to have been conveyed by Casander, the son of Antipater, some recording that he conveyed it in the hoof of a mule, and that his younger brother Iollas gave it to the king. For this man was the royal cupbearer, and he happened to have received some affront from Alexander a short time before his death. Others have stated that Medius, being a lover of Iollas, took part in the deed; for he it was who induced the king to hold the revel. They say that Alexander was seized with an acute paroxysm of pain over the wine-cup, on feeling which he retired from the drinking bout. One writer has not even been ashamed to record that when Alexander perceived he was unlikely to survive, he was going out to throw himself into the river Euphrates, so that he might disappear from men's sight, and leave among the men of after-times a more firmly rooted opinion that he owed his birth to a god, and had departed to the gods. But as he was going out he did not escape the notice of his wife Roxana, who restrained

him from carrying out his design. Whereupon he uttered lamentations, saying that she forsooth envied him the complete glory of being thought the offspring of the god. These statements I have recorded rather that I may not seem to be ignorant that they have been made, than because I consider them worthy of credence or even of narration.

Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, in the archonship of Hegesias at Athens. According to the statement of Aristobulus, he lived thirty-two years, and had reached the eighth month of his thirty-third year. He had reigned twelve years and these eight months. He was very handsome in person, and much devoted to exertion, very active in mind, very heroic in courage, very tenacious of honor, exceedingly fond of incurring danger, and strictly observant of his duty to the deity. In regard to the pleasures of the body, he had perfect self-control; and of those of the mind, praise was the only one of which he was insatiable. He was very clever in recognizing what was necessary to be done, when others were still in a state of uncertainty; and very successful in conjecturing from the observation of facts what was likely to occur. In marshalling, arming, and ruling an army, he was exceedingly skilful; and very renowned for rousing the courage of his soldiers, filling them with hopes of success, and dispelling their fear in the midst of danger by his own freedom from fear. Therefore even what he had to do in uncertainty of the result he did with the greatest boldness. He was also very clever in getting the start of his enemies, and snatching from them their advantages by secretly forestalling them, before any one even feared what was about to happen. He was likewise very steadfast in keeping the agreements and settlements which he made, as well as very secure from being entrapped by deceivers. Finally, he was very sparing in the expenditure of money for the gratification of his own pleasures; but he was exceedingly bountiful in spending it for the benefit of his associates.

QUESTIONS

1. To what was the death of Alexander probably due? 2. To what other causes did some of the writers of his day attribute it? 3. What traits of Alexander's character are brought out by Arrian in his account of the last sickness? 4. What is Arrian's chief source of information here? 5. How valuable is such a source? 6. How does it compare in value with the best sources that we have used? 7. What other sources did Arrian use here? 8. When they disagreed, what did he do? 9. Was Alexander a great general? 10. Was he an abler man than his father?

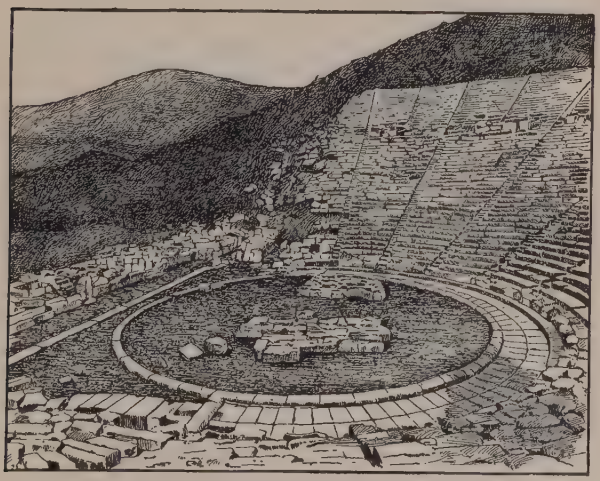

FIG. 23. THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS

XIII. THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE

Polybius, *Histories*, II, 37

1. The Achæans, as I have stated before, have in our time made extraordinary progress in material prosperity and internal unity. For though many statesmen had tried in past times to induce the Peloponnesians to join in a common league for the common interests of all, and had always failed, because every one was working to secure his own power rather than the freedom of the whole; yet in our day this policy has made such progress and been carried out with such completeness, that not only is there in the Peloponnese a community of interests such as exists between allies or friends, but an absolute identity of laws, weights, measures, and currency. All the states have the same magistrates, senate, and judges. Nor is there any difference between the entire Peloponnese and a single city, except in the fact that its inhabitants are not included within the same wall; in other respects, both as a whole and in their individual cities, there is a nearly absolute assimilation of institutions.

Polybius, *Histories*, V, 1

2. The year of office as strategus of the younger Aratus had now come to an end with the rising of the Pleiades;[1] for that was the arrangement of time then observed by the Achæans. Accordingly he laid down his office and was succeeded in the command of the Achæans by Eperatus.

Polybius, *Histories*, XXIII, 5

3. Having landed at Naupactus, Flaminius addressed a despatch to the strategus and demiurgi[2] bidding them summon the

[1] May 13.

[2] Ten federal magistrates.

Achæans to an assembly; to which they wrote back that "they would do so if he would write them word what the subjects were on which he wished to confer with the Achæans; for the laws enjoined that limitation on the magistrates."

Polybius, *Histories*, IV, 7

4. This being the time, according to their laws, for the meeting of the Achæan federal assembly, the members arrived at Ægium. When the assembly met, the deputies from Patræ and Pharæ made a formal statement of the injuries inflicted upon their territories during the passage of the Ætolians; an embassy from Messenia also appeared, begging for their assistance on the ground that the treatment from which they were suffering was unjust and in defiance of treaty. . . . Roused to indignation by all these considerations, the assembly voted to give assistance to the Messenians; that the strategus should summon a general levy of the Achæan arms; and that whatever was decided by this levy, when it met, should be done. Now Timoxenus, the existing strategus, was just on the point of quitting office, and felt besides small confidence in the Achæans, because martial exercise had been allowed to fall into neglect among them; he therefore shrank from undertaking the expedition, or from even summoning the popular levy.

Polybius, *Histories*, XXII, 10

5. I have already stated that in the Peloponnese, while Philopœmen was still strategus, the Achæan league sent an embassy to Rome on the subject of Sparta, and another to King Ptolemy to renew their ancient alliance.

Immediately after Philopœmen had been succeeded by Aristænus as strategus the ambassadors of King Ptolemy arrived, while the league meeting was assembled at Megalopolis. King Eumenes also had despatched an embassy offering to give the Achæans one hundred and twenty talents on condition that it was invested

and the interest used to pay the council of the league at the time of the federal assemblies. Ambassadors came also from King Seleucus to renew his friendship with them, and offering a present of a fleet of ten ships of war. But when the assembly got to business the first to come forward to speak was Nicodemus of Elis, who recounted to the Achæans what he and his colleagues had said in the senate about Sparta, and read the answer of the senate, which was to the effect that the senate disapproved of the destruction of the walls, and of the execution of the men put to death at Compasium, and that it did not rescind any arrangement made. No one saying a word for or against this, the subject was allowed to pass.

Next came the ambassadors from Eumenes, who renewed the ancestral friendship of the king with the Achæans, and stated to the assembly the offer made by him. They spoke at great length on these subjects and retired after setting forth the greatness of the king's kindness and affection to the nation.

After they had finished their speech, Apollonidas of Sicyon rose and said that: "As far as the amount of the money was concerned, it was a present worthy of the Achæans. But if they looked to the intention of the donor, or the purpose to which the gift was to be applied, none could well be more insulting and more unconstitutional. The laws prohibited any one, whether a private individual or magistrate, from accepting presents from a king on any pretence whatever; but if they took this money they would every one of them be plainly accepting a present, which was at once the greatest possible breach of the law, and confessedly the deepest possible personal disgrace. For that the council should take a great wage from Eumenes, and meet to deliberate on the interests of the league after swallowing such a bait was manifestly disgraceful and injurious. It was Eumenes that offered money now; presently it would be Prusias; and then Seleucus. But as the interests of democracies and kings are quite opposite to each other,

and as our most frequent and most important deliberations concern the points of controversy arising between us and the kings, one of two things must necessarily happen: either the interests of the king will have precedence over our own or we must incur the reproach of ingratitude for opposing our paymasters." He therefore urged the Achæans not only to decline the offer, but to hold Eumenes in detestation for thinking of making it. . . .

After these speeches had been delivered the people showed such signs of enthusiastic approval that no one ventured to speak on the side of the king; but the whole assembly rejected the offer by acclamation, though its amount made it exceedingly tempting.

The next subject introduced for debate was that of King Ptolemy. The ambassadors who had been on the mission to Ptolemy were called forward, and Lycortas, acting as spokesman, began by stating how they had interchanged oaths of alliance with the king; and next announced that they brought a present from the king to the Achæan league of six thousand stands of arms for peltasts, and two thousand talents in bronze coinage. He added a panegyric on the king and finished his speech by a brief reference to the good will and active benevolence of the king towards the Achæans. Upon this the strategus of the Achæans, Aristænus, stood up and asked Lycortas and his colleagues in the embassy to Ptolemy "which alliance it was that he had thus renewed?"

No one answering the question, but all the assembly beginning to converse with each other, the council chamber was filled with confusion. The cause of this absurd state of things was this: There had been several treaties of alliance formed between the Achæans and Ptolemy's kingdom, as widely different in their provision as in the circumstances which gave rise to them; but neither had Ptolemy's envoy made any distinction when arranging for the renewal, merely speaking in general terms on the matter, nor had the ambassadors sent from Achaia; but they had interchanged the oaths on the assumption of there being but one treaty.

The result was that, on the strategus quoting all the treaties, and pointing out in detail the differences between them, which turned out to be important, the assembly demanded to know which it was that it was renewing. And when no one was able to explain, not even Philopœmen himself, who had been in office when the renewal was made, nor Lycortas and his colleagues, who had been on the mission to Alexandria, these men all began to be regarded as careless in conducting the business of the league; while Aristænus acquired great reputation as being the only man who knew what he was talking about; and finally the assembly refused to allow the ratification, voting, on account of this blunder, that the business should be postponed.

Then the ambassadors from Seleucus entered with their proposal. The Achæans, however, voted to renew the friendship with Seleucus, but to decline for the present the gift of the ships.

Having thus finished their deliberations, the assembly broke up, and the people separated to their several cities.

Polybius, *Histories*, XXIX, 24

6. The people were once more inclined to grant the aid when they heard this; but Callicrates and his party managed to prevent the decree being passed by staggering the magistrates with the assertion that it was unconstitutional to discuss the question of sending help abroad in public assembly. But a short time afterwards a meeting was summoned at Sicyon which was attended not only by the members of the council, but by all citizens over thirty years of age; and after a lengthened debate, Polybius especially dwelling on the fact that the Romans did not require assistance, — in which he was believed not to be speaking without good reason, as he had spent the previous summer in Macedonia at the headquarters of Marcus Philippus, — and also alleging that even supposing the Romans did turn out to require their active support, the Achæans would not be rendered incapable of furnishing it by

the two hundred horse and one thousand foot which were to be sent to Alexandria, — for they could, without any inconvenience, put thirty or forty thousand men into the field, — the majority of the meeting were convinced, and were inclined to the idea of sending the aid. Accordingly, on the second of the two days on which, according to the laws, those who wished to do so were bound to bring forward their motions, Lycortas and Polybius proposed that the aid should be sent.

Polybius, *Histories*, XXVIII, 7

7. Archon, however, the strategus, rose to support the envoys, — for it was a matter that called for an expression of opinion from the strategus, — but after a few words he stood down, afraid of being thought to be giving his advice from interested motives and the hope of making money, because he had spent a large sum on his office. Amidst a general feeling of doubt and hesitation, Polybius rose and delivered a long speech. But that part of it which best fell in with the feelings of the populace was that in which he showed that "The original decree of the Achæans in regard to these honors enacted that such honors as were improper and contrary to law were to be abolished, but not all honors by any means."

Polybius, *Histories*, IV, 15

8. The resolutions passed by the Achæan federal assembly were these: That embassies should be sent to Epirus, Bœotia, Phocis, Acarnania, and Philip to declare how the Ætolians, in defiance of treaty, had twice entered Achaia with arms, and to call upon them for assistance in virtue of their agreement, and for their consent to the admission of the Messenians into the alliance. Next, that the strategus of the Achæans should enroll five thousand foot and five hundred horse and support the Messenians in case the Ætolians were to invade their territory, and to arrange with the

Lacedemonians and Messenians how many horse and foot were to be supplied by them severally for the service of the league.

Polybius, *Histories*, V, 94

9. After arranging this settlement, Aratus broke up his camp, and going on himself to the congress of the Achæans, handed over the mercenaries to Lycus of Pharæ, as the sub-strategus of the league. . . . About the same time the navarch of the league, having gone on an expedition to Molycria, returned with nearly a hundred captives. Returning once more to Ætolia, he sailed to Chalceia and captured two warships, with their crews, which put out to resist him; and took also a long boat, with its men, on the Ætolian Rhium. There being thus an influx of booty both by sea and land at the same period, and a considerable amount of money and provisions being obtained from this, the soldiers felt confident of getting their pay, and the cities of the league were sanguine of not being likely to be hard pressed by their contributions.

Polybius, *Histories*, X, 22

10. Being then appointed hipparch by the Achæan league at this time, and finding the squadrons in a state of utter demoralization and the men thoroughly dispirited, he did not only restore them to a better state than they were, but in a short time made them even superior to the enemy's cavalry by bringing them all to adopt habits of real training and genuine emulation. The fact is that most of those who hold this office of hipparch, either, from being without any genius themselves for cavalry tactics, do not venture to enforce necessary orders upon others; or, because they are aiming at being elected strategus, try all through their year of office to attach the young men to themselves and to secure their favor in the coming election; and accordingly never administer necessary reprimands, which are the salvation of the public interests, but hush up all transgressions, and, for the sake of gaining

FIG. 24. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN

an insignificant popularity, do great damage to those who trust them. Sometimes, again, commanders, though neither feeble nor corrupt, do more damage to the soldiers by intemperate zeal than the negligent ones, and this is still oftener the case with regard to the cavalry. . . .

Polybius, *Histories*, V, 30

11. When the next winter came Philip, having departed to Macedonia, and the Achæan strategus, Eperatus, having incurred the contempt of the Achæan soldiers and the complete disregard of the mercenaries, no one would obey his orders, and no preparation was made for the defence of the country. This was observed by Pyrrhias, who had been sent by the Ætolians to command the Eleans. . . . He now began committing frequent raids, not only upon the territories of Dyme and Pharæ, but upon that of Patræ also. . . . The result was that the cities, being exposed to much suffering, and unable to obtain any assistance, began to make difficulties about paying their contribution to the league; and the soldiers, finding their pay always in arrear and never paid at the right time, acted in the same way about going to the relief of the towns. Both parties thus mutually retaliating on each other, affairs went from bad to worse, and at last the foreign contingent broke up altogether. And all this was the result of the incompetence of the chief magistrate. The time for the next election finding the Achæan affairs in this state, Eperatus laid down his office, and just at the beginning of summer Aratus the elder was elected strategus.

Polybius, *Histories*, V, 91

12. Now, when Aratus came into office he found the mercenary army of the league in a state of complete demoralization, and the cities very slack to pay the tax for their support, owing to the bad and spiritless manner in which his predecessor, Eperatus, had managed the affairs of the league. He, however, exhorted the members

of the league to reform, and obtained a decree dealing with this matter; and then threw himself with energy into the preparation for the war. The decree passed by the Achæans ordered the maintenance of eight thousand mercenary infantry and five hundred horse, together with three thousand Achæan infantry and three hundred horse, enrolled in the usual way; and that of these latter five hundred foot and fifty horse were to be brazen-shield men from Megalopolis, and the same number of Argives. It ordered also that three ships should be manned to cruise off Acte and in the Argolic gulf, and three off Patræ and Dyme, and in the sea there.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the marks of unity in the states of the Peloponnesus? 2. What were the titles of the officers of the league? 3. How, when, and where were they elected? 4. What were the duties of each? 5. How long did each hold office? 6. How many parts in the government? 7. How was each composed? 8. What authority had each? 9. How was the league supported? 10. What trace of corruption do you find in the extracts? 11. What bad features do you notice about the army? 12. What is the value of the testimony of Polybius concerning the organization and working of the league?

Fig. 25. A Citizen with His Sons

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARRIAN. (*Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica.* Translated by Edward James Chinnock, M.A., LL.D., London, 1893.) Arrian was born in Nicomedia, a town of Bithynia, in the first century of the Christian era. He went to Athens, made the acquaintance of the emperor Hadrian when he visited the city, accompanied him to Rome, and became a Roman citizen. After having held several offices and been governor of Cappadocia, he retired from public life and passed his remaining years in Nicomedia. In his early life, Arrian had been a pupil of the philosopher Epictetus and later published several volumes of recollections of his master. He also wrote a number of histories, the most important of which is the *Anabasis.* Among the extracts given in this volume is one from the *Royal Diary*, written by Eumenes of Cardia, private secretary of both Philip and Alexander and by Diodotus of Erythræ.

ARISTOTLE. (*Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution.* Translated by F. G. Kenyon, M.A., London, 1891.) This document represents one of the most interesting finds of the nineteenth century. It was discovered in Egypt and came into the possession of the British Museum in 1890. It is copied on papyrus. There are four rolls that taken together make a document eighteen feet and eight inches in length and eleven inches in width. The papyrus had been used originally for the keeping of farm accounts for the year 79 A.D. Although the document bore no title, it was recognized by scholars as a study on the Athenian constitution, attributed to Aristotle, that had not been seen for some twelve to eighteen centuries. Portions of the work had been preserved in

writings that we possess, and by comparison it was made certain that the long-lost work had been recovered. It is not certain that it is the work of Aristotle, but it was, at any rate, written under his eye, between the years 329 and 322 B.C.

ÆSCHYLUS. (*The Tragedies of Æschylus.* By E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Boston.) Æschylus, the first of the three great tragic poets of Greece, was born about 525 B.C., at Eleusis in Attica. He belonged to the upper class, and "the feelings of this class cling to him through life," making of him a supporter of Cimon against Pericles and a defender of the Areopagus. His residence in Eleusis, where the famous mysteries were celebrated, undoubtedly had a great influence on his life. He probably fought at Salamis. He produced between seventy and eighty plays, seven of which are extant. He is said to have been crowned fifty-two times as the winner of prizes in the public competition. His play of *The Persians*, containing the description of the battle of Salamis, was performed eight years after the battle. Æschylus died about 456 B.C.

ARISTOPHANES. (*Aristophanes, a Metrical Version of the Acharnians, the Knights, and the Birds.* By John Hookam Frere. Third Edition. London, 1890.) Aristophanes was born at Athens about 444 B.C. and died about 368 B.C. He was a precocious youth, winning his first prize for a comedy before he had reached the age when he could legally compete for a prize. The play was produced in the year 426 B.C., in the name of Callistratus. *The Acharnians*, written when Aristophanes was but nineteen, was also produced in the name of Callistratus. *The Knights* was the first play given by Aristophanes in his own name (424 B.C.). The plays satirized Athenian life and institutions. The treatment by Aristophanes of certain persons in Athens was so severe that about 388 B.C. a law was passed forbidding the playwriters to name in their plays any living person. The law seems to have put an end to the so-called "Old comedy." Aristophanes is said to have produced fifty-four comedies, ten of which have survived.

DEMOSTHENES. (*The Olynthiac and Other Public Orations of Demosthenes*. Translated by C. R. Kennedy. 2 vols. 1888. Vol. I.) Demosthenes was born in Athens, 385 B.C., and died at Calaurea, 322 B.C., probably taking his own life. When he first entered public life, awkwardness of manner and defect of speech rendered him ridiculous, and made success as a public speaker impossible. He went into retirement and for several years struggled against these defects, finally overcoming them. It is said that he read and copied the speeches of Thucydides many times. When he again appeared in public he was master of himself and was soon recognized as one of the foremost Athenian orators. He is considered the greatest of the world's orators. Demosthenes led the party of opposition to Philip of Macedon at Athens, and the most famous of his orations, *The Olynthiacs*, *The Philippics*, and the oration *On the Crown*, were uttered in the course of the struggle with Macedon. The *Third Olynthiac* was delivered in 349 B.C. Athens had formed an alliance with Olynthus against Philip, and this speech was delivered to induce the Athenians to send aid to their ally. *The Second Philippic* was delivered in 344 B.C. Philip was aiding the Messenians against Sparta. Athens had sent an embassy, of which Demosthenes was a member, to warn the Messenians against Philip and to turn them against him. Philip, angry at this action, sent an embassy to Athens to upbraid the Athenians. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes spoke, defending his policy.

HERODOTUS. (*The History of Herodotus*. Translated into English by G. C. Macaulay, M.A. 2 vols. London, 1890.) Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus about 460 B.C. and died before 424 B.C. (?). He lived for a time at Samos and also at Athens, but spent many years in travel in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Greece, gathering material for his history of the Persian wars. Critics are not agreed upon the time when the work was written, but it is probable that it was written at Athens at the beginning

of the Peloponnesian wars. Herodotus was a contemporary of Thucydides, although one would not readily imagine it from the vast difference between the mental attitudes of the two men. The history of the Persian wars rests very largely on oral tradition gathered by Herodotus.

Hesiod. (*The Works of Hesiod, Callimachus, and Theognis.* Translated by the Rev. J. Banks, M.A. London, 1886.) Little is known of Hesiod apart from what is found in his own works. He was born and lived in Bœotia and might, not improperly, be called the farmer poet. He probably lived in the eighth century before Christ, for it was probably in that century that the three poems ascribed to him, *Works and Days*, *The Theogony*, and *The Shield of Hercules*, were written. The authorship of the last poem is more uncertain than that of the first two, and this poem seems also to be the product of a later period. It is not certain that Hesiod wrote the whole of the *Works and Days*, some of it undoubtedly being spurious, but the nucleus is probably genuine. The poem is in three parts: the first concerned with a good-for-nothing brother of Hesiod and the moral reflections that he suggests; the second contains directions for farmers and sailors; while the third teaches what days of the month are lucky or unlucky for certain actions.

Iliad. (Translated by Lang, Leaf, and Myers. Macmillan and Company, New York, 1889.) This poem of the siege of Troy was long supposed to be the work of a blind poet, Homer. To-day Homer is looked upon as a myth, and the *Iliad* is regarded by scholars not as the work of one writer, but of a number of primitive bards and of later compilers. That is to say, the minstrels began to sing the lays that make up this volume before writing existed, possibly in the ninth century before Christ. Some genius then put together the songs that treated of the wrath of Achilles and his quarrel with Agamemnon. These form the nucleus of the *Iliad.* Afterwards this nucleus was enlarged, each book

receiving a distinctive name, and the whole poem was written down. Finally, several centuries after it was written down, the books were numbered as we have them to-day. The epic, then, instead of being the song of one poet, is the product of the Greek mind working through several centuries.

Odyssey. (Translated by Butcher and Lang. D. Lothrop and Company, Boston, 1882.) The *Odyssey* was also attributed to Homer, but with no more reason than in the case of the *Iliad.* It, too, was probably the work of more than one poet. The *Odyssey* was evidently written later than the *Iliad,* and describes a more advanced state of society. The poem deals with the wanderings of Odysseus on his return from Troy and the trials of his wife Penelope, who waited long years in Ithaca for his home-coming. All the characters in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are mythical.

Our information upon the life of the early Greeks is drawn almost entirely from these poems. Naturally there has been much discussion among historians concerning the value of such sources. The argument in favor of using them is founded on the theory that in describing past events the untutored bard, unfamiliar with the differences produced by time in the manners and customs of a people, knowing only the life around him, unconsciously, as a child, drew upon the world about him for the setting of his poem. Thus he left a picture of the manners and customs of his time, all the more truthful because it was unconscious. We must remember, however, that it is only the elements that he used that can be used by the historian. When the poet speaks of "golden doors," we may infer that there was gold and that there were doors in his day, but not necessarily "golden doors."

Pausanias. (*Pausanias' Description of Greece.* Translated by Arthur Richard Shilleto, M.A. 2 vols. London, 1886.) Pausanias lived in the second century of the Christian era. He was born in Asia Minor, travelled over the largest part of the known world of his day, and finally settled in Rome, where he died. His

volume in ten books, *A Description of Greece*, was composed about 174 A.D., and is the oldest guide book of Greece in existence. Much that he saw and described has since disappeared. He is credulous and naïve, and although his work is valuable to the archæologist, it contains little that is valuable in the form of tradition. A study of the portion of his work dealing with the early wars of Sparta has led to the conclusion that for this part Pausanias probably made use of the list of Spartan kings and their deeds composed by Sosibios, who lived in the first half of the third century before Christ.

PINDAR. (*The Extant Odes of Pindar.* Translated into English by Ernest Myers, M.A. London, 1892.) Pindar was born in Bœotia in 522 and died at his home near Thebes about 452 B.C. He belonged to one of the noblest families of Greece and stood in immediate relations with the priesthood of Apollo at Delphi. He is the greatest of the Greek lyric poets. The forty-four odes that still remain were written to celebrate the victors in the great games of Greece. Of the magnificence of these games and of the permanent honors acquired by the victors, the Greek world over, it is difficult for us to form to-day an adequate conception. It was no small thing for the winner to be immortalized in the verse of Pindar. Such an ode was "an abiding monument — an heirloom for the victor, his family, and his city. Thus the ode in which Pindar celebrated the victory of the Rhodian Diagoras is said to have been copied in letters of gold and deposited in the temple of Athena at Lindus in Rhodes." The ode was sung by a chorus, and the song was accompanied by a rhythmic movement of the singers. The odes were written between 502 and 452 B.C.

PLUTARCH. (*Plutarch's Lives of Illustrious Men.* 3 vols. Lovell Company, New York.) Plutarch was a Bœotian like Hesiod and Pindar, being born in Chæronea about 50 A.D. He died in the reign of the emperor Hadrian (117–138). Trajan conferred the consular dignity upon him, and Hadrian, who had

been his pupil, made him procurator of Greece. Up to the end of his life he was archon and priest of Apollo in his native city. Among all that he wrote, his *Lives of Illustrious Men* — forty-six parallel lives in which a Greek is compared with a Roman, and four single lives — are the most famous. For his lives of the Greeks he drew from the writings of historians, poets, philosophers, orators, and geographers, some one hundred and thirty-one having been counted, while, doubtless, many more had been utilized. Much, or the most, of this material has been lost, and the historian goes to the lives of the Greeks by Plutarch to find traces of these lost records. Unfortunately, Plutarch was not a critical historian, and although his narrative is made of material gathered from other writers, he does not feel impelled at all times to name his source, and in borrowing does not always select the most valuable material.

Polybius. (*The Histories of Polybius*. Translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, M.A. 2 vols. London, 1889.) Polybius of Megalopolis was born about 203 B.C. and died in the year 122 B.C. He was the son of Lycortas, who had occupied the posts of general and ambassador in the league, and from his youth up was in the thick of political affairs and acquainted with the business of the league. Associated in politics with his father from 181 to 168 B.C., Polybius was sent on embassies, was elected hipparch in 169 B.C., and became a leader among the Achæans. His labors as an ambassador gave him opportunities to make the acquaintance of the rulers of the eastern world, the sovereigns of Egypt, Pergamum, Macedonia, and Syria, and of the generals of Rome. After the fall of Perseus of Macedonia, in 167, the Achæans who were suspected by the Romans of sympathy with the Macedonians were taken to Italy, to the number of one thousand, and scattered through the cities of the peninsula, where they remained under surveillance for sixteen years. Among these men was Polybius. He was permitted to remain in Rome, where he enjoyed the friendship and protection of Scipio. In 151 less than

three hundred of the exiles, all that remained of the one thousand, were permitted to return to Greece. Polybius took no part in the movement that led to war with Rome and to the final overthrow of the league in 146 B.C., but he was chosen by the Roman government to assist in the work of settling the affairs of the cities of the Peloponnesus and in explaining the new order of things to the Greeks. He conducted himself in such a way as to please both Greeks and Romans. Much impressed by the great changes that he had witnessed in the Mediterranean world, the rise of Rome as a world power, he determined to write the history of this great transformation. He was well prepared by his experience for such a task, and he spared no pains in informing himself concerning the facts from which he proposed to construct his history. He talked with survivors of the historic events, examined documents, visited the sites of historic events, — tracing the march of Hannibal from Spain across the Alps, — and read the histories written by contemporaries. The history covered originally the period from 218 to 166 B.C., with an introduction treating of the first Carthaginian war, but was afterwards extended to 146 B.C. Much of the work has been lost. The first part was probably published before 146 B.C.

SOPHOCLES. (*The Tragedies of Sophocles*. By E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Boston.) Sophocles, the greatest of the Greek tragic poets, was born at Colonos, 495 B.C. He was thus a younger man than Æschylus and older than Aristophanes. He gained his first victory in tragedy in 468 B.C. — the year of the birth of Socrates, thirty years after the exhibition of the first tragedy of Æschylus and forty-one years before Aristophanes gained his first prize. The victory was won over Æschylus, whose popularity was passing away. Sophocles was said by the ancients to have composed one hundred and twenty-three plays; seven of these have survived. He was crowned twenty times. He is reported to have lived to the age of ninety and it is said that charged with imbecility by one of

his sons who asked that a guardian be appointed for him, Sophocles defended himself successfully by reading to the judges a superb bit of his drama, *Œdipus at Colonos*, that he had just finished. The greatest of his tragedies are *Antigone* and *Œdipus the King*. Jebb says of the plays of Sophocles: "The artistic side of the Periclean age is indeed represented by the plays of Sophocles in literature as by the Parthenon in architecture and sculpture. Sophoclean tragedy exhibits the same union of power with purity of taste, the same self-restraint, the same instinct of symmetry, which can still be admired in the remains of the temple." (*The Growth and Influence of Classic Greek Poetry*, p. 189.)

Strabo. (*The Geography of Strabo*. Translated by Hamilton and Falconer. 3 vols. London, 1887.) Strabo was born in Cappadocia about 50 B.C. and died in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius (14–37 A.D.). He travelled in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Greece, and Italy, and lived a long time in Rome. The result of his travels and study was a great work on geography in seventeen books, the most of which have come down to us. Besides descriptions of the countries around the Mediterranean, the work contains a mass of valuable information, drawn from oral tradition, from observation, and from reading, concerning the history, manners and customs, religion, and institutions of the various peoples. It forms the chief source of information on Greek colonization.

Thucydides. (*The History of the Peloponnesian War*. Translated by Jowett. 2 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900.) Thucydides, the grandson of a Thracian prince, himself an Athenian citizen, was born about 460 B.C. and died before 399 B.C. In 424 he commanded an Athenian fleet off the Thracian coast. Failing to prevent the Spartans from taking Amphipolis at this time, he was banished from Athens, his exile lasting twenty years. Much of this time was passed on his estates in Thrace, some of it in Sparta and in travelling about. During his travels, in which

he gathered material for the history of the Peloponnesian wars, he evidently visited Sicily. He himself states that at the outbreak of the war he realized that it was to be a great struggle, and determined to write the history of it, watching its development, collecting information from eye-witnesses and other sources, and endeavoring to get at the truth of what was taking place. He probably began to write at the close of the ten years' war, thinking the conflict was over. After his account of the first war was finished, war broke out again, and Thucydides again began the work of collecting. When the war was over he began the writing of the second part and, realizing that the whole struggle might be treated as one great war, he attempted to combine the two parts. He returned to Athens in 404 B.C. and made some changes in the first part of his work, making use of material, chiefly documents, that were not accessible to him during his exile. He never completed his history, and the latter part of what he wrote bears marks of haste or, at least, has the appearance of a first draft.

TYRTÆUS. (*The Idylls of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, and the War-Songs of Tyrtæus.* Translated by the Rev. J. Banks, M.A. London, 1891.) Tyrtæus, the composer of the war-songs sung by the Spartan soldiers, was born at Aphidnæ in Attica about 660 B.C. Almost nothing is known of him. The story goes that he was a lame schoolmaster and was sent to the Spartans by the Athenians when the Spartans asked for assistance in the Messenian wars. Whatever his birth or however he came to Sparta, he was thoroughly adopted by the Spartans, and his songs, as inspiring as a bugle call, undoubtedly contributed much to Spartan success on the battle-field. "As a bard he was no mean leader of his adopted countrymen; for years afterward, their evening meals on their campaigns closed with the recitation of his spirit-stirring war-songs."

XENOPHON. (*The Works of Xenophon.* Translated by H. G. Dakyns, M.A. 4 vols. London, 1890.) The dates of the birth

and death of Xenophon are uncertain. He was born about 431 B.C. and died about 354 B.C. Born in Athens, he passed his youth there and in the neighboring country. He was a devoted pupil of Socrates, deriving from direct contact with the great man the material that was later to form the *Memorabilia*. He took part in the expedition of Cyrus and led the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks to the Black Sea after the defeat and death of Cyrus. Joining the Spartan army in Asia Minor, he later crossed into Greece and fought against the Athenians at Coronea. Banished by the Athenians on account of this act, he was given by the Spartans an estate near Olympia, where he passed a number of years. He died in Corinth. Extracts have been made from three of the works in this collection: *The Hellenica*, that is certainly the work of Xenophon; *The Polity of the Lacedemonians*, that is probably his; and *The Polity of the Athenians*, that has been attributed to him, but that is probably the work of an Athenian writing about 424 B.C. The first work, *The Hellenica*, dealing with Greek history from 411–362, consists of possibly three parts written at different times: the first, a continuation of the history of Thucydides to the fall of Athens, was probably written before 401 B.C. at Athens, or after 394 B.C. in Sparta; the second part, to the peace of Antalcidas, was probably begun after 399 B.C.; while the third part was completed in 357 B.C. The *Memorabilia* was composed after 399 B.C. The extracts from this last work were taken from the *Memorabilia of Socrates, Translated from the Greek of Xenophon.* (The Temple Classics, J. M. Dent & Company, London, 1904.) *The Polity of the Lacedemonians* was evidently written between 387 and 375 B.C., while Xenophon was living in the Peloponnesus.

APPENDIX II

REMARKS AND QUESTIONS ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations should be studied in two ways: (1) as source material throwing light on the manners and customs of the Greeks, (2) as products of the Greek artist. In using the material in the first way, the illustrations and questions should be used in connection with the printed sources. For example, Figures 1, 2, 5, 11, 15, although of a later period, might be used in connection with the study of the manners and customs of primitive Greece. Wine was stored in jars, women went to the fountain for water, there were funeral monuments, Venus was the goddess of love, and men performed sacrifices at altars even in the early days of Greece. Figure 3 might be brought in with colonization, 7 in connection with the restoration of the walls of Athens after the Persian wars, 13 in connection with "Games," 17, 19, 23, 25 in connection with the study of the constitution of Athens, 6 in connection with the unification of Attica, 16, 18, 20, in connection with the Attic drama. In dealing with the illustrations specifically as art products, Figures 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 21, 22, 24, might be studied in succession, one or more at a time, forming the conclusion of a lesson and, toward the end of the semester, two or three exercises might be given to art as a whole, the statues, the temples, the vases being studied in groups. The success with which the sources are handled as literature and the illustrations as art will depend largely on the teacher. If these things appeal to him, he will succeed in creating an atmosphere about his work that will envelop the class before many weeks have passed.

In the preparation of the notes upon the illustrations, I have drawn heavily on Gulick's *The Life of the Ancient Greeks* (D. Appleton & Co.) and Tarbell's *A History of Greek Art* (Macmillan). Both of these excellent volumes should be on the teacher's desk.

Fig. 1. Greek Wine Jar. Frontispiece. The original is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University. (From a photograph.) The jar is a stamnos, a variety of amphora (so-called from its two handles), and was used especially for storing wine. The normal stamnos has a capacity of about ten gallons. This stamnos dates from the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The Greek vases made of clay, says Gulick, "were painted with extraordinary care and beauty of design."

QUESTIONS

1. How many colors were used in the decoration of this jar? 2. Describe the decoration. 3. Was the composition of the group of figures influenced at all by the shape of the jar? 4. Why did figures from Greek daily life lend themselves naturally to decorative work? 5. What can you learn, from the jar, of Greek life?

Fig. 2. Group from a Funeral Monument. Facing page 22. The original is in the National Museum at Athens. (From a photograph.) "Beside the (burial) mound a monument was ordinarily reared . . . a slab of stone or marble, sculptured in relief, with a life-size portrait of the dead. The name of the dead, and sometimes of the friend who erected the memorial, were inscribed near the relief. . . . Many of them (reliefs), depicting some pleasant scene out of the home life of the departed, remain to testify to the kindlier and more affectionate traits of the Greek character." (Gulick, p. 297.)

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the scene reproduced on the monument. 2. Are the figures ideal? 3. Point out what seems pleasing to you in the arrange

ment of the figures and the treatment of the draperies. 4. What can you learn from the monument about Greek life?

Fig. 3. An Official Letter on a Papyrus of the Third Century. Page 28. Original in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University. (From a photograph.) "For books were produced by handwriting on papyrus, an exceedingly light and perishable material derived from the *biblos*. This is a large reed or sedge that grew profusely in the shallow waters of Egypt. . . . Although it had to be transported from Egypt to Attica, the material could not have been very costly; and some of the poorer grades of manufactured 'paper' need not have been expensive. It was prepared by carefully unrolling the inner portion of the stem with a sharp knife. This brought to hand a thin and delicate strip or narrow sheet, which had to be reinforced by laying on it, transversely, another similar strip. The two were then pressed tightly together. If the juice of the plant was insufficient to make them join, a little paste was added. The surface was then made smooth and even and bleached in the sun. Sheets of this kind were then pasted together at their edges to make long rolls. The whole of the *Odyssey* could be contained in a roll of ordinary width 150 feet long. . . . Each roll was called a *biblion*." (Gulick, p. 108.)

QUESTIONS

1. What was the original meaning of the word *Bible?* 2. How did the word get that meaning? 3. How did the Greek book differ from ours? 4. Was it better or worse? 5. How were the Greek books made? 6. What influence would the material and method of making a Greek book have upon the spread of knowledge? 7. What differences do you notice between the appearance of this Greek letter and a modern letter?

Fig. 4. Resting at a Wayside Herm. Page 40. A terra-cotta figure. (From a photograph.) "The protection of the gods was constantly evoked during a journey. On land, Apollo,

Hermes, Hecate, and Heracles were the special guardian of the wayfarer; on the sea, Artemis and, above all, the twin Dioscuri, Castor and Polyduces. On reaching home safely, the traveller offered thanks in a sacrifice to one of the gods or to Zeus the Saviour and paid the vows he had made while abroad, often dedicating some object in the temple of the god." (Gulick, p. 261.)

QUESTIONS

1. What was a "Wayside Herm"? 2. Why was it erected? 3. How did it combine religion and utility? 4. Is this figure good artistically? 5. What can you learn about Greek life from this statue?

Fig. 5. Sculptured Drum of Column from Ephesus. Facing page 42. The original is in the British Museum. (From a photograph.) The material is white marble and the figures are about life-size. This base of a column was formerly part of a beautiful temple of Artemis built at Ephesus about 350 B.C. The temple, hidden by the deposits of centuries, was excavated in the latter half of the nineteenth century by an Englishman, J. T. Wood, and this drum, with other relics, became the property of the British Museum. "The subject of the group is an unsolved riddle." (Tarbell, p. 235.) The figure on the right is the god Hermes.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the figures on the drum. 2. Are they human figures? 3. How are they attached to the drum? 4. Note the adaptation of the figures to the curved surface, the relation of the figures to each other, and the handling of the drapery of the central figure.

Fig. 6. Venus of Melos. Facing page 64. (From a photograph.) The original occupies a room by itself in the great museum of the Louvre at Paris. The walls of the room are tinted a deep red, and the figure, of heroic size, as befits a goddess, stands upon a black pedestal in the centre of the room. Silhouetted against the dark, rich background, the white statue seems a vision

of beauty when marked for the first time down the long vista of rooms leading to it. The statue was found by accident in 1820 in the island of Melos. It was bought by the French ambassador at Constantinople and presented to Louis XVIII. The date of its production is uncertain. It is probably an adaptation of a fourth century (B.C.) Venus. (Tarbell, p. 249.)

QUESTIONS

1. What connection has this statue with Greek religion? 2. What did the Greeks think their gods and goddesses were like? 3. Does any such relation exist to-day between statues and religion? 4. Did the Greeks worship the statue? 5. Note that the figure is of heroic size Mark the simplicity of the treatment, the nobleness and repose of the features, the dignity of the pose of the figure, the naturalness of the hair, — a stray lock falling into the neck, — and the skill with which the drapery is chiselled. Note, too, the famous Greek profile, the forehead and nose forming a straight line.

Fig. 7. THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS FROM THE SOUTH. Facing page 88. (From a photograph.) This great rock, rising from the midst of Athens, was the centre of its religious life. Besides the beautiful Propylæa, or entrance on the west, there were, upon the summit of the rock, three temples, — the Parthenon, the Erectheum, and the temple of the Wingless Victory — the great bronze statue of Athena and numberless statues, altars, and votive offerings. From the ruins that still remain and that draw each year to Athens thousands of art lovers from all parts of the world, we are able to imagine what an enchanted spot the summit of the Acropolis must have been when these superb creations of Greek genius stood there in their fresh beauty, in the clear atmosphere, and under the blue skies of Attica. The most prominent and imposing building on the Acropolis was the Parthenon, containing the gold and ivory statue of Athena.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the Acropolis from the illustration. 2. For what was this citadel used? 3. What induced the Athenians to erect such works of art? 4. Has your own city any such collection of beautiful buildings and statues? 5. From an artistic point of view, was the Acropolis a good place for these beautiful temples?

Fig. 8. Portion of the Themistoclean Wall. Page 97. (From a photograph.)

QUESTIONS

1. Where is the original of this illustration? 2. Describe the wall. 3. Does an examination of the wall bear out what Thucydides wrote about the building of it? 4. If you wanted to know how the wall was built, which would you choose, a photograph of the wall or Thucydides' description of the wall, if you could not have both? 5. Which would be the more valuable as evidence? 6. Could you tell more about the building, if you had both the photograph and the description?

Fig. 9. East Front of the Parthenon, Restored and Dissected. Facing page 110. (From a photograph.) This is a restoration and dissection intended to show how the Parthenon was constructed. "The elevations of the most perfect of Doric buildings could not be drawn with a ruler. Some of the apparently straight lines are really curved. The stylobate (the uppermost stone of the base of the temple) is not level, but convex, the rise of the curve amounting to $\frac{1}{100}$ of the length of the building; the architrave (the stone parallel to the stylobate and resting on the capitals) has also a rising curve, but slighter than that of the stylobate. . . . The columns slope inward and so do the principal surfaces of the building, while the anta-capitals (capital of anta, or pilaster forming the termination of the wall of the temple) slope forward." (Tarbell, p. 110.) The shaft of the column does not form a truncated cone. "Instead of that, the shaft has an *entasis*, or swelling. Imagine a vertical section to be made through the

middle of the column. If, then, the diminution of the shaft were uniform, the sides of this section would be straight lines. In reality, however, they are slightly curved lines, convex outward. This addition to the form of a truncated cone is the entasis. It is greatest at about one-third or one-half the height of the shaft, and there amounts, in cases that have been measured, to from $\frac{1}{80}$ to $\frac{1}{140}$ of the lower diameter of the shaft." (Tarbell, p. 85.) Portions of the building were colored. "The colors used were chiefly dark blue, sometimes almost black, and red; green and yellow also occur, and some details were gilded. The coloration of the building was far from total. Plain surfaces, as walls, were unpainted. So, too, were the columns, including probably their capitals, except between the annulets (small, flat fillet encircling the column under the capital). Thus color was confined to the upper members — the triglyphs (furrowed blocks in the frieze), the under surface (soffit) of the cornice, the sima (gutter), the anta-capitals, the ornamental details generally, the coffers of the ceiling, and the backgrounds of sculpture." (Tarbell, p. 106.)

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the Parthenon, using also Figure 14. 2. Describe its construction. 3. In how many places do you notice ornamentation? 4. Mediæval and modern churches are larger than the Greek temple. Why, do you think? 5. Tarbell says, "Simplicity in general form, harmony of proportion, refinement of line — these are the great features of Greek columnar architecture" (p. 111). Look at these two pictures (Figures 8 and 14) until you realize the meaning of those terms.

Fig. 10. Northwest Corner of the Parthenon. Facing page 138. (From a photograph.) Read what was said under Figure 8 concerning color.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe a Doric column, using Figures 8 and 9. 2. In how many places is ornamentation applied to this building? 3. Describe the

different kinds of ornaments. 4. Draw the repeated figure in the ornaments of the gutter-facing and side of the building.

Fig. 11. Slab of the Parthenon Frieze (North). Facing page 162. Original in the British Museum. (From a photograph.) This frieze ran around the building (a portion of it can be seen in Figure 8, above the second row of columns), and represented the procession of the great Panathenaic festival. It was executed under the direction of Phidias, the great sculptor. The figures are in low relief. The larger part of the slabs have been taken away from Athens and adorn the walls of the British Museum. Some of them are fairly well preserved, but none of them are in perfect condition. Enough remains to fill the world with regret at what has been lost.

QUESTIONS

1. How many figures are there in this group? 2. How are they arranged? 3. Did the sculptor have a difficult task to perform in his attempt to show in low relief these horses three deep? 4. Why would you say that the group was characterized by the expression "simplicity of treatment"? (Dress of men, harness of horses.) 5. Do the horses seem to be in motion? The beauty of this sculptured procession, with its hundreds of figures of men, women, children, horses, oxen, and sheep is indescribable. In magnitude of conception and skill of execution it is without a peer in the remains of the world's sculpture.

Fig. 12. Women at the Fountain. Page 173. British Museum. (From a photograph.) Black-figured Volcantian hydria (water-jar) from Athens. Sixth century B.C.

QUESTIONS

1. What can you learn about Greek life from the group on this vase? 2. Compare the dresses of the women on this vase with the dress of the women in Figure 1. 3. Why do they differ? 4. Describe the grouping of the figures. 5. Why does the subject lend itself naturally to vase decoration? 6. Where have you seen a design with a repeated figure similar to that in the lower border?

Fig. 13. The Erectheum. (From a photograph.) Facing page 188.

QUESTIONS

1. Where did the Erectheum stand? 2. Compare this temple with the Parthenon, noting the differences. 3. Describe the Erectheum. 4. What portion do you think remarkably beautiful? 5. The column of the Erectheum is Ionic. How does the Doric column differ from it?

Fig. 14. Games. Facing page 212. (From photographs.) These designs were taken from Greek vases. The upper group is from a red-figured hydria of the early fifth century. The men are "entering for the horse and chariot races." The original is in Munich. The middle group is from a red-figured cylix (drinking cup, with shallow bowl, two handles and base) of the early fifth century. The original is in the Edward Jekyll collection. The men on the left are wrestling, those on the right are marking out a course. The lower group, "racing in armor," is from a red-figured cylix in Berlin.

QUESTIONS

1. What can you learn about Greek games from these vase decorations? 2. About Greek dress? 3. Trace the groups on white paper, paint the figures (the white portions) terra-cotta, the background black, with water colors. After the paint has dried, go over the black background with shellac. 4. How many horses are attached to the chariot? 5. Why is the driver represented as entering the chariot instead of standing in it? 6. Notice the skill with which the figures are grouped on the middle and lower vases and the varieties of graceful attitudes introduced. On the middle vase, the umpire and the wrestlers form one group, the youth on the right another, but the two figures on the right are turned toward the centre, and the umpire, or central figure, seems to bind the two groups together. Notice the grace in the pose of the figures. The manner in which the figures in the lower group are arranged is even more interesting. The interlacing of legs and arms not only gives the impression of rapid movement but produces unity in the group. The

central figure, with right arm extended, struggles to overtake the leader, meanwhile glancing over his shoulder at the man behind him. It is a lively portrayal of a race.

Fig. 15. Temple of Poseidon (?) at Paestum. Facing page 236. (From a photograph.)

QUESTIONS

1. Describe this temple. 2. Is it a Doric or an Ionic temple? 3. How many columns are there in the building? 4. Where were the ornaments, originally, on the building?

Fig. 16. Altar of Dionysus. Page 239. (From a photograph.)

QUESTIONS

1. For what purpose was this altar probably used? 2. What is the scene sculptured on its side? 3. Do you recall any extract from the *Iliad* that would prove that the Greeks engaged in such practices as this altar portrays? 4. Who was Dionysus? 5. What are altars used for to-day?

Fig. 17. The Platform (Bema) on the Pnyx, Athens. Page 265. (From a photograph.) "It was, however, in the popular assembly or *ecclesia* that the will of the sovereign people found its chief expression. . . . The attendance of six thousand, or about one-fifth of the male citizens, was required to transact certain kinds of business. . . . The sessions of the ecclesia were ordinarily held on the hill outside the town called the Pnyx; sometimes in the agora or the Dionysiac theatre." (Gulick, pp. 208, 209.)

QUESTIONS

1. How did this general assembly place of Athenian people differ from a modern hall of legislation? 2. What light do these differences throw on the length of the session and the amount of business transacted? 3. How many citizens were there in Athens? 4. Could a modern legislature work successfully under the conditions that the Athenian assembly found satisfactory? 5. To what are these differences due?

Fig. 18. Posidippus. Facing page 280. The original is in the Vatican Museum in Rome. (From a photograph.) The statue is probably of the early part of the third century. "Posidippus was an Athenian dramatist of the so-called New Comedy. . . . The preservation of the statue is extraordinary; there is nothing modern about it except the thumb of the left hand. It produces strongly the impression of being an original work and also of being a speaking likeness. It may have been modelled in the actual presence of the subject." (Tarbell, p. 252.)

QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between this statue and that of the Venus of Melos? 2. Why is the left hand raised? 3. What do you imagine Posidippus has in his right hand? 4. Is the pose of the figure a natural one, or does Posidippus look as if he were "having his picture taken"? 5. What can you learn about Greek manners and customs from the statue?

Fig. 19. A Decree of the Council and of the Popular Assembly. Page 285. (From a photograph.) An inscription of about 450 B.C., relating to the building of the temple of Wingless Victory on the Acropolis.

QUESTIONS

1. On what kind of material was this decree preserved? 2. Why was it not written on papyrus? 3. What is the difference between the letters used here and those used on the sheet of papyrus (Figure 17)? 4. How would a modern printed page have to be changed to make it look like this inscription? 5. Print Question 4 to illustrate the change. How many of the letters in the Greek inscription look familiar?

Fig. 20. A Musical Contest between Apollo and Marsyas. Page 295. (From a photograph.)

QUESTIONS

1. What musical instruments appear in this scene? 2. Which figure is Apollo? 3. Which Marsyas? 4. Why was a third figure introduced? 5. Describe the scene. 6. In what light does the artist make Marsyas appear? 7. What was the result of the contest (see dictionary of mythology)? 8. Does the dress differ from what you have seen in other illustrations?

Fig. 21. Entablature and Upper Part of Column from the Mausoleum. Facing page 302. The original is in the British Museum. (From a photograph.) Ionic.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe this entablature. 2. Describe the portion of the column that is visible. 3. Compare this entablature and column with the "Northwest Corner of the Parthenon," noting differences. 4. Which appears to you to be the more beautiful? 5. What are the characteristics of the Ionic style of architecture?

Fig. 22. The Victory of Samothrace. Facing page 318. (From a photograph.) The original is in the Louvre in Paris and is one of the most impressive objects in that marvellous collection. It stands on a landing at the head of a grand staircase leading to the second floor of the museum. As the visitor mounts the staircase, the heroic figure with its mighty wings towers above him, and before he has reached the platform on which it stands, the beauty and grandeur of this noble Greek statue has been indelibly impressed upon his mind. The stone pedestal on which the figure rests represents the prow of a ship. The statue was discovered in 1863 in the island of Samothrace. It was in fragments. The pedestal was found in 1875. The statue was probably dedicated shortly after 306 B.C. to commemorate a naval victory won by Demetrius over Ptolemy in that year. From a coin of the same period we learn what the perfect statue was like. "The goddess held a trumpet to her lips with her right hand and in her left carried

a support such as was used for the erection of a trophy. The ship upon which she has just alighted is conceived as under way, and the fresh breeze blows the garments back in tumultuous folds." (Tarbell, p. 249.)

QUESTIONS

1. What is this statue supposed to represent? 2. Where is the figure supposed to be standing? 3. Could you tell this from a study of the figure? 4. Why is the body encircled by a rope? 5. Why has the figure wings? 6. Could you tell from a study of the figure in which hand it held the trumpet? 7. Do we make statues to-day to represent Love, War, Liberty, etc.?

Fig. 23. THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS. Page 329. (From a photograph.) "Temples abounded in Greece. Every considerable city and many a smaller place had at least one, and the ruins of these structures rank with temples and walls of fortifications among the commonest classes of ruins in Greek lands." (Tarbell, p. 111.) "Finally the theatre exercised an absorbing influence in forming the lives and characters of Athenians. Its educative power was greater than can be measured to-day, for it sprang from the popular religion. Both religion and the state, therefore, — the two were virtually one in antiquity, — united in its support, and every performance in the theatre recalled to the citizen his dependence upon both, his obligation to both. Attendance at the dramatic contests was the duty and the privilege of all citizens, even the poorest; for these a fund was provided by the state in the last years of the fifth century, which insured them not only a free ticket, but also spending money for the holiday. . . . The performance of a play was not an every-day occurrence. In Athens it was confined to two festivals held every year in honor of Dionysus." (Gulick, pp. 112, 113.)

QUESTIONS

1. Describe this theatre. 2. How did it differ from a modern theatre? 3. Were the performances given at night? 4. How did it compare in size with the modern theatre? 5. Does the theatre occupy the same place in the life of the people of this country that it did in the life of the Greek people? 6. How do you explain this difference? 7. Was the theatre more generally attended in the days of ancient Greece than among us to-day?

Fig. 24. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN. Facing page 336. Graf Collection, Vienna. (From a photograph.) Found in the Fayyum, Egypt, between 1886 and 1896. It dates from the second century A.D. It is painted on a wooden panel and was originally attached to a mummy. It is one of "the best examples of Greek painting that has come down to us. In spite of the great inferiority of the encaustic technique (in encaustic painting, wax was mixed with the color and afterward fused with a hot iron to fix the color) to that of oil painting, this picture is not unworthy of comparison with the great portraits of modern times." (Tarbell, p. 288.)

QUESTIONS

1. Why was this portrait attached to a mummy? 2. How long after the time of Pericles was this portrait painted? 3. Is it a Greek face? 4. Why is it called "an example of Greek painting," if it was done in Egypt? 5. Do we know that it was done in Egypt? 6. Would you imagine from the girl's dress that she lived two thousand years ago? 7. What is the most striking thing about the face?

Fig. 25. A CITIZEN WITH HIS SONS. Page 338. The elder is on his way to join the cavalry. Red-figured stamnos of the early fifth century. (From a photograph.)

QUESTIONS

1. How does the dress in this group differ from the dress that you have examined in other groups? 2. Is the horse as well drawn as the men?

3. Does he look strong enough to carry his rider? 4. Are all the figures supposed to be in motion? 5. In what other ways might these figures be grouped? 6. What is the color of the figures on the original vase?

GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. Where are the examples of Greek art that we have studied to be found to-day? 2. In what state of preservation are they? 3. In what century were the most of them produced? 4. Name the illustrations that represent Greek painting. 5. From what objects were they taken? 6. How many colors were used for the most part? 7. How would Greek vase painting differ from modern china painting? 8. How many kinds of Greek vases have been mentioned in these studies? 9. With what subjects did the Greek sculptor deal? 10. Name and describe the statues that you have studied. 11. What two kinds of Greek architecture have you studied? 12. Name examples of each kind. 13. What is the difference between them?

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